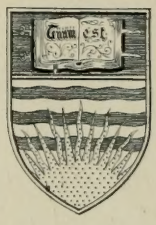
BRIEF COURSE SERIES *in* EDUCATION

STORAGE-ITEM
MAIN LIBRARY

LPA-A70D
U.B.C. LIBRARY



Library
of the University of
British Columbia

Accession No. 31024
Call No. HM66. C6 Cop. 1

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY WITH EDUCATIONAL APPLICATIONS

Brief Course Series in Education

EDITED BY

PAUL MONROE, PH.D., LL.D.

BRIEF COURSE IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

PAUL MONROE, Director of School of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.

BRIEF COURSE IN THE TEACHING PROCESS

GEORGE D. STRAYER, PH.D., Professor of Educational Administration, Teachers College, Columbia University.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHILDHOOD

NAOMI NORSWORTHY, PH.D., formerly Associate Professor of Educational Psychology, and MARY THEODORA WHITLEY, PH.D., Assistant Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.

DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

JOHN DEWEY, PH.D., LL.D., Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University.

SCHOOL HYGIENE

FLETCHER B. DRESSLAR, PH.D., Professor of Health Education, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY WITH EDUCATIONAL APPLICATIONS

FREDERICK R. CLOW, PH.D., Teacher in the State Normal School, Oshkosh.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SUBNORMAL CHILDREN

LETA S. HOLLINGWORTH, Professor in Educational Psychology, Teachers College, Columbia University.

In preparation.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

DAVID SNEDDEN, PH.D., Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University. *In preparation.*

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY WITH EDUCATIONAL APPLICATIONS

BY

FREDERICK R. CLOW, PH.D.

TEACHER IN THE STATE NORMAL SCHOOL
AT OSHKOSH, WISCONSIN

New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1920

All rights reserved

COPYRIGHT, 1920,
BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

Set up and electrotyped. Published February, 1920.

Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

PREFACE

. . . The efforts of theological seminaries, schools of philanthropy, schools of business, and schools of education to employ sociological theory as an instrument for the analysis of any kind of social situation, or as a master-key to all of their treasure houses, are destined, I still believe, to result in success. Such success awaits standardization, and that — again expressing merely my own opinion — the university professors will yet give us; they — some of them — will come to the aid of the schools that educate social workers and will trim down the far-ramifying sociological theory to the shape of a tool which these workers can be easily trained to use. . . .

In my class every student works on some group or institution with which he is familiar — his practice class, if he has one, or his boarding club, literary society, church, family, neighborhood. As we advance through the principles of sociology he applies them to his own special group and writes a sociological analysis of it by instalments. In this way sociological theory comes to him as an instrument for practical use rather than as a body of doctrine for the delectation of scholars. — American Sociological Society, *Publications*, Vol. 13, p. 68; Clow, "Sociology in the Education of Teachers."

WHILE the general application of sociology to technical uses must probably await the appearance of a treatise such as is foreshadowed in the first paragraph above, this volume is designed to serve as a textbook for work such as is described in the second paragraph. To that end it omits several topics which usually find place in an introductory textbook in sociology.

The only limit to the student's freedom in selecting the group or organization on which he will use the sociological scalpel is that it must be one about which he has, or can get, adequate information. If it is one in which he is keenly

interested, or concerning which he has already done some work, so much the better. It may be a small school, or a department of a large school; it may be a village, or a rural neighborhood, or a ward of a city; it may be a business establishment, or a factory; it may be some historical movement in government, religion, art, or war, provided it was persistent and developed a definite organization. The teacher who wishes to carry the problem method to the limit may set his students at work on their topics before sending them to this or any other book on sociology.

The series of chapters, in respect to selection and order, is the result of much thought and many experiments. No claim is made that it is perfect or that it should be followed without variation in analyzing a social situation; the use, for instance, which the last four chapters make of the first ten exhibits much elasticity. The teacher or student who, after familiarizing himself with the plan of this book, wishes to modify it, has the author's encouragement to the test of a trial.

The "Topics" at the close of each chapter are designed to be assigned to individual students for special study, and perhaps for report to the class. The "Problems" are for discussion, a reference, when given, being merely to serve as a cue to the discussion; in some cases no definite answer is possible, the purpose being to show the limitations of our knowledge or to state some ever present problem. The "References" are intended to lead the student into the literature of sociology and the social phases of education, but of course only a small proportion of the usable books and articles in these two great fields could find mention. The preferred references are marked with asterisks (*); those marked with two asterisks (**) are suitable for required reading.

The illustrative examples have been taken as far as possible from school life and those features of community activity

into which teachers need to have some insight. They are given largely in the form of quotations printed in smaller type. Where no reference is given the quotation is usually a contribution from some personal friend of the author.

The quotations and references, however, indicate only a part of the author's indebtedness. The ideas expressed in the larger type have been more or less commonplace among persons who have kept in touch with the progress of science. The author's work has been to serve as a purveyor of the ideas of others, to select what seems to be the best thought of the time in regard to the principles underlying all social organization and education in particular, and to arrange the material so as best to introduce students to this way of thinking. For this unidentifiable material the author is indebted chiefly to his pupils, instructors, colleagues in instruction, and fellow students in classes in the following educational institutions: the high schools at Austin, Minn., and Oshkosh, Wis.; Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.; Harvard University, the University of Chicago, and the state universities of Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota; the state normal schools of Wisconsin and the four adjoining states, and the school at Oshkosh most of all.

Permission to use the longer quoted passages has been sought from both authors and publishers. The authors, without exception so far as they have expressed themselves, have given permission freely and cheerfully to this method of propagating their ideas. The publishers, who must consider the pecuniary interests of their authors as well as of themselves, have been more particular, especially in regard to the amount to be quoted and the manner in which credit is given. But they have all, with one exception, permitted the free use of the selections from their respective publications.

The largest obligations for the use of such borrowed material are due to the University of Chicago Press for the many, and

often lengthy, quotations from *The American Journal of Sociology;* also for the quotations from the *Publications* of the American Sociological Society and from *General Sociology*, by Albion W. Small.

A close rival in this respect is The Macmillan Company, with whose permission the quotations from the following books are taken: *The Educative Process* and *School Discipline*, by W. C. Bagley; *Social and Ethical Interpretations*, by J. Mark Baldwin; *Democracy and Education*, by John Dewey; *The Social Problem*, by Charles A. Ellwood; *Principles of Sociology*, by Franklin H. Giddings; *The Kallikak Family*, by Henry H. Goddard; *Societal Evolution*, by Albert G. Keller; *The Psychology of Peoples*, by Gustave Le Bon; *Play in Education*, by Joseph Lee; *Economic Cycles*, by H. L. Moore; *Human Behavior*, by Maurice Parmelee; *The Foundations of Sociology* and *Social Control*, by Edward A. Ross; *How to Teach*, by Strayer and Norsworthy; *Educational Administration*, by Strayer and Thorndike; *Education*, by Edward L. Thorndike; *Politics*, by Heinrich von Treitschke; *The Great Society*, by Graham Wallas; *Outlines of Sociology* and *Pure Sociology*, by Lester F. Ward; *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*, by H. G. Wells; *The New Democracy*, by Walter E. Weyl; and *The Virginian*, by Owen Wister.

Charles Scribner's Sons have accorded the right to use the selections from Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race*, Charles H. Johnston's *The Modern High School*, Henry Fairfield Osborn's *Men of the Old Stone Age*, George Santayana's *The Life of Reason*, and Charles Horton Cooley's three volumes, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, *Social Organization*, and *Social Process*.

The extracts from the works of Ellwood P. Cubberley, Havelock Ellis, George Harris, James K. Hosmer, Ellsworth Huntington (only *The Pulse of Asia* and *Palestine and Its Transformations*), C. A. McMurry, M. V. O'Shea, G. T. W.

Patrick, William R. Smith, and Graham Wallas (only *Human Nature in Politics*) are used by permission of, and by special arrangement with, Houghton Mifflin Company, the authorized publishers.

The extracts from Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*, Hall's *Adolescence*, Hayes's *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, Jastrow's *Character and Temperament*, Jordan and Kellogg's *Evolution and Animal Life*, Kelsey's *Physical Basis of Society*, King's *Education for Social Efficiency*, and the writings of Herbert Spencer are used by permission of, and special arrangement with, D. Appleton & Company, the authorized publishers.

Ginn and Company have granted permission to use the material taken from Bullock's *Readings in Economics*, Callender's *Economic History of the United States*, Hayes's *British Social Politics*, Judd's *Psychology of High School Subjects*, Scott's *Social Education*, Sumner's *Folkways*, and Ward's *Psychic Factors of Civilization*.

The passages from Morgan's *Ancient Society*, Semple's *Influence of Geographic Environment*, and James's *Principles of Psychology* are used with full permission of Henry Holt and Company, the publishers.

The quotations from *Democracy and Reaction*, by L. T. Hobhouse, and *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, by Inazo Ota Nitobé, are with permission of G. P. Putnam's Sons, the publishers.

The selections from Frank M. McMurry's *Elementary School Standards*, copyright, 1913, and from E. C. Elliott's *City School Supervision*, copyright, 1914, are used with permission of the publishers, the World Book Company, Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York.

Huntington's *Civilization and Climate* and Hadley's *Freedom and Responsibility* are quoted from with permission of the publishers, the Yale University Press.

Princeton University Press gives permission for the use

of the two selections from Conklin's *Heredity and Environment.*

The University of Southern California gives permission for the use of the extracts from *Essentials of Social Psychology* and *Introduction to Sociology*, Emory S. Bogardus.

Longmans, Green & Co. authorize the quotations from *The School and Other Educators*, by John Clarke, and from *Civilization and Progress*, by J. B. Crozier.

The selection on page 179, from *The Wayward Child*, by Hannah Kent Schoff, copyright, 1915, is used by special permission of the publishers, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

Still other publishers will be found mentioned, in accordance with their wish, in connection with the quotations from their respective books.

Harper & Brothers ask for no other credit for the quoting privilege than the regular bibliographical mention in the Author Index.

The same is true of the publishers of the following periodicals and newspapers: The *Publications* of the American Economic Association, *The American Magazine*, *The Educational Review*, *The Evening Post* (N. Y.), *Extension*, *The Independent*, *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *The New York Times*, *The Outlook*, *The Psychological Review*, *School and Home Education*, *The Survey*, and *The Western Teacher.*

CONTENTS

PART I. THE FACTORS OF SOCIETY

PAGE

CHAPTER I. POPULATION 3

Genetic vs. *Demotic Aggregation;* declining importance of kinship; immigration; educational applications — *Density* grows up to the means of subsistence; conditions which make population scattered or concentrated; application to education — *Differences:* sex, age, nationality, or race; migration as a cause of variation; application to school population and the teaching population.

CHAPTER II. LOCATION 20

Influence of Physical Environment on Human Society; Montesquieu, Buckle, Guyot, Ratzel, Semple — Modifications induced by (1) climate, (2) natural resources and trade, (3) physical features and communication; educational applications — *Human Factors in the Locality;* school buildings — *The Physical Basis of Society.*

CHAPTER III. HUMAN NATURE 37

General View; limits, dependence on physiology and psychology; life is action, metabolism — *Inborn Tendencies:* material wants, family instincts, gregariousness, kindness, intelligence — *Maturing* — *Differences;* their classification and measurement.

CHAPTER IV. COMMUNICATION 65

Personal Development depends on social stimulus; solitary persons no exception — *Mechanism of Communication; Verbal:* language, writing and printing, long-distance mechanisms; *Non-verbal:* demonstration, art products; *Complex Forms:* personality, drama; selecting the medium to suit the person; direct *vs.* indirect; supervised study, the recitation — *The Reaction;* symbols interpreted imperfectly; basis of common experience necessary; sympathy; assimilation, repulsion.

PART II. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER V. PRIMARY GROUPS AND CONGENIAL GROUPS . . . 95

A Primary Group an intimate group; Cooley's doctrine — *Size* of a group affects its character — *Congenial Groups;* small, spontaneous;

PAGE

boys' gangs; girls' groups — *In School,* groups must be taken account of; discipline; question of open recognition — *Congenial Association* apart from groups; usual among adults; often necessary.

CHAPTER VI. THE SOCIAL MIND 122

A figurative term — *Causes,* group influence — *Intricate Development — Varieties:* duration, depending on change in personnel; superficial or fundamental; popular impression, public opinion, popular sentiment, moral sentiment — *Intensity;* the mob, moderated forms — *Based on Feeling;* formal like-mindedness *vs.* rational — *Average Opinion* vs. *That of the Most Competent;* general *vs.* special; the leader.

CHAPTER VII. SOCIAL CLASSES 150

Class consciousness — *Open Classes* vs. *Castes;* heredity and occupation; classes based on wealth; universal education makes classes competitive — *Teachers as a Class;* "intellectuals" — *The "Masses" or "Lower" Classes;* useful work not low; undeveloped talent; backward communities, immigrants — *The Genuine Low Class;* the feeble-minded, diagnosis; criminal class, causes.

CHAPTER VIII. ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS 187

Exist in the Social Mind; to satisfy wants; coöperation and specialization — *The Instinct to Achieve* and to belong; examples in school — *Standards* persist, impressed upon new members; standard measurements in school; justice; must have time to grow — *Human Nature and Large Scale Organization — Formalism — Individual and Society.*

CHAPTER IX. GOVERNMENT 216

The directing function, with coercive power, necessary in all social organization; discipline in school — *The Frame of Government;* the constitution, "that whereby"; the executive; qualities needed — *The Governing Class;* leaders need self-possession, unselfishness, prestige — *Class Selfishness;* among leaders in school — *Supervision and Inspection;* difference; difficulty of combining — *The School Survey;* defects, improved methods — *The Theory of Punishment:* uphold authority, deter others, reform the culprit.

CHAPTER X. DEMOCRACY 243

Narrower and broader meanings; growth — *Responsible Government;* pure democracy weak in administration; representation, efficiency; depends on communication, character, steadiness — *Equality* neither possible nor desirable; fair opportunity for all — *Freedom;* coercive element reduced; personal liberty, free choice of

PAGE

vocations; free organization; local self-government; freedom in school; anarchists *vs.* socialists — *Democratic Government in Schools;* various forms; conclusion.

PART III. SOCIAL PROGRESS

CHAPTER XI. THE HUMAN EPISODE: MAN'S CAREER ON THE EARTH 277

Social dynamics; progress or only change? — *The Backward Look:* historical time; archæological time; periods named by materials, dwellings, names of typical finds; geological time; Morgan's stages of culture; educational use — *The Forward Look;* short reach of business foresight as measured by rates of interest; impending changes in the disappearance of barbarism, large-scale organization, increasing population, exhaustion of natural resources — *Conclusion;* cultivate foresight; progress and the shifting goal; an end sometime.

CHAPTER XII. HEREDITY AND VARIATION 301

Biological terms — *Heredity,* meaning in sociology — *Variation;* continuous *vs.* discontinuous or mutation; differentiation *vs.* agglomeration; Ross's terminology — *Formal Application;* population, location, human nature, communication, primary groups, social mind, social classes, institutions, government, democracy.

CHAPTER XIII. NATURAL SELECTION 332

The principle stated by Darwin: multiplication, struggle, survival of the fittest — *Application to the Factors of Society:* population, human nature, location, communication — *Application to Social Organization:* congenial groups, social mind, social classes, institutions, government — *The Waste of Struggle,* hope of suppressing it.

CHAPTER XIV. TELIC SELECTION 352

By conscious choice: direct, economical, ideal; makes variations from which to select — *Population and Vital Conservation:* limited choice among the people at hand; safety devices and instruction; control increase of defectives; eugenics — *Location and Communication:* scientific foresight in mining, agriculture, planning of cities; patriotic foresight reaches farther than economic; systems of communication planned by private interest if not by public — *Social Mind and Education;* telesis only through suitable instruments, education the best — *General Public Will and Social Classes;* natural selection prevails; keep classes open, foresee drift and prepare — *Institutions;* choice limited — *Government* the instrument of public will; must leave room for struggle — *The Goal* variously defined.

PAGE

CHAPTER XV. CYCLES OF CHANGE 375

Rhythm in Nature universal; metabolism; groups must conform; cycle of a generation — *Cycle in Communication and the Social Mind;* each form has its own round of changes; in a social class, immigrants — *Cycle in an institution;* must grow or die; rejuvenation possible, occasioned by some crisis — *Cycle in Civilization;* the Græco-Roman; Oriental and others; synchronized with secular cycles in nature; Huntington's evidence — *Practical Application:* look for opposites; necessary to progress.

SELECT LIST OF BOOKS 403

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND BOOKS 407

INDEX OF PERIODICALS AND SERIALS 418

INDEX OF SUBJECTS 420

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY WITH EDUCATIONAL APPLICATIONS

PART I

THE FACTORS OF SOCIETY

CHAPTERS I–IV

Expatiate free o'er all this scene of man;
A mighty maze! but not without a plan;
A wild, where weeds and flowers promiscuous shoot,
Or garden, tempting with forbidden fruit.
Together let us beat this ample field,
Try what the open, what the covert yield.

— Pope, *Essay on Man*, Epistle I.

Sociology is the study of societies. In proportion as this study becomes scientific it is the study of society in the abstract; that is, it studies the uniformities which run through all societies, or all of a given kind.

A society, in the sense here used, is a population the individual members of which maintain more or less permanent relations with one another. In proportion as these relations are permanent, or recurring under certain conditions, they are capable of scientific treatment; they are the uniformities which run through all similar societies; to work them out and set them in order is the business of the sociologist.

In the first four chapters which follow, an equal number of factors will be treated which are necessary to constitute a society, and which help to determine what the characteristics of that society shall be. The material for these four chapters must be drawn largely from other sciences. Herein sociology is indebted chiefly to geography, economics, physiology, and psychology.

. . . For the social process, consisting as it does of manifold activities of men, is almost infinitely complex, and needs to be analyzed into its simpler elements if such a concept is to be useful as a norm in education. What goes to make up the social process? What is its nature? What are its constituents? How are they interrelated, and how is the whole related to the life, experience, and education of the individual? — Betts, *Social Principles of Education*, p. 51.

. . . As a matter of fact, a modern society is many societies more or less loosely connected. Each household with its immediate extension of friends makes a society; the village or street group of playmates is a community; each business group, each club, is another. Passing beyond these more intimate groups, there is in a country like our own a variety of races, religious affiliations, economic divisions. Inside the modern city, in spite of its nominal political unity, there are probably more communities, more differing customs, traditions, aspirations, and forms of government or control, than existed in an entire continent at an earlier epoch.

. . . There are also communities whose members have little or no direct contact with one another, like the guild of artists, the republic of letters, the members of the professional learned class scattered over the face of the earth. For they have aims in common, and the activity of each member is directly modified by knowledge of what others are doing. — Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, pp. 24, 25.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY WITH EDUCATIONAL APPLICATIONS

CHAPTER I

POPULATION

All the elements of society are conserved in its physical basis, the social population. With a study of population . . . the descriptive analysis of society must begin.

In the study of population on its physical side the facts of aggregation or grouping are the first to claim attention. The distribution of animal and human life over the surface of the earth is no uniform dispersion of solitary individuals. With few exceptions, living beings are disposed in groups which here are loose and scattered, and there are massed in dense aggregations. Some degree of aggregation is the indispensable condition to the evolution of society. . . . — Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 79.

The Two Kinds of Aggregation

An aggregation of people in one locality may originate in either one of two ways: by birth or by assembling. The individuals may have been born into the group from a common stock, or they may have come together from different localities and from different stocks. *Genetic* and *demotic* are the terms which Giddings uses to designate these kinds of aggregation.

Doubtless sometime in the far past lived the common ancestral stock from which the various races now on the earth have descended; but when that was, and in what region, are not now known. Nor have we positive knowledge as to when, or where, or from what other race any one of the

several existing races was derived, although there are very probable inferences in regard to some. Then there are the differences of nationality added to those of race, and again there are local differences within each nationality, and finally each family has characteristics which distinguish it from others. In all our study of the human species, therefore, the population of the earth appears to us not as one stock, but as an endless variety of different stocks, with much intermingling of individuals and mixture of blood. There is no such thing as a pure race or nationality. All aggregations of people are demotic, or at least they were when they began.

On the other hand, the demotic group tends to become genetic as time passes. A family that begins by the union of two unrelated persons becomes in half a century a group of kindred. A valley that was settled a century ago by a score of persons who were all strangers to one another before they came there, has come to have a population of kindred: each inhabitant was born there and is related to every other inhabitant. The people of any one of the states of western Europe, and of the older commonwealths in the United States, have become to a considerable degree genetic; that is, some one stock or race predominates in each and gives it character.

This genetic unity is one basis of "consciousness of kind" — another term from Giddings for which we shall have use later on. Kinship among primitive people is much more important than it is among civilized people. We to-day can with difficulty form a conception of the great part which kinship once played. We see it exemplified best among animals: "Birds of a feather flock together"; they also either ignore or fight those of any other kind. Barbarians often distinguish more kinds and degrees of blood relationship than we do, as shown by the terms they use; in one instance there are terms for seven different kinds of cousins. Among the early Greeks and Romans a foreigner could be naturalized only by being adopted into the family of a citizen; in other

words, the ceremony of naturalization was what we should regard as a ceremony of adoption. The terms "Brother" and "Son" as titles of address are relics of the time when friendly relationship of any kind was supposed to be based on blood relationship. If it was desired to establish friendly relationship where blood relationship did not exist, a fictitious blood relationship was created.

Kinship still retains something of its old prominence among the aristocratic classes in old communities. But ordinarily distinctions of family, nationality, and race remain prominent only where stocks that are very different come together in such a way as to start rivalry between them; then it may become a matter of principle with the dominant stock to keep its blood pure; race prejudice against Jews, negroes, Orientals, or foreigners of any kind may be encouraged as a means to this end. The factor of heredity is important in a way which will be noticed in future chapters, but the tendency of the age is strongly against formal observance of it. The person who expects consideration because of his ancestry is likely to appear ridiculous. In 1911 the First Universal Races Congress met in London, at which distinguished speakers from every part of the globe for four days discussed race problems. The large university of to-day, instead of emphasizing the organization by "Nations" as did the medieval university, has its "Cosmopolitan Club" in which students of various nationalities and races meet on the basis of their common human brotherhood.

Immigration

Foreign immigration is of course a large factor in making the population demotic. Throughout the Northern section of the United States the foreign element — including in this term the foreign born and the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage — composes about half of the population. In the South, on the other hand, though the presence of the

negro gives every community a demotic character of a peculiar kind, the foreign element is small, usually less than ten per cent; in Texas it is 15.5. The following table shows the five highest and the five lowest proportions in the United States:

Minnesota	71.5	North Carolina	.7
North Dakota	70.6	South Carolina	1.1
Wisconsin	66.8	Georgia	1.6
New York	63.2	Mississippi	1.6
New England	59.2	Alabama	2.4

— Compiled from *Thirteenth Census, Abstract*, p. 86.

But besides foreign immigration, there is interstate migration, and the latter is sometimes the larger factor in making a demotic population. Variations in the two, however, run closely together.

The four states with the smallest percentages of their respective populations born in the state of residence, and the four with the largest percentages, are as follows:

Wyoming	21.8	North Carolina	94.7
Washington	23.0	South Carolina	94.4
Nevada	26.4	Georgia	90.6
Montana	26.4	Virginia	89.4

— Compiled from *Thirteenth Census, Abstract*, p. 175.

The states in which there has been the least migration to disturb the genetic character are precisely the ones in which there is a large negro element in the population, with the array of problems which that involves for teachers and social workers of all kinds.

The Indians of the United States have never increased much in number since the discovery of America, and have been decreasing for the past century. As a result of the policy of the government they are mostly segregated in a few localities. Where they exist they present distinct problems, educational and otherwise.

It appears, therefore, that we might recognize four kinds of communities with reference to demotic character: (1) the older Southern states which have many negroes, but few immigrants, either foreign or domestic; (2) the older states of the North which have a large foreign element, but also a native population born in the state where they reside and whose parents were also natives; (3) the North Central states with a large native population born in the states where they reside, though largely of foreign or mixed parentage; and (4) the newer West where only about one fourth of the population were born in the states where they reside.

Application to Education

This varying composition of the population has important results in the social life of a community. The fuller discussion of these will come in Chapters VI and VII. One result for education will be noticed here. A genetic community has its standards and holds to them so tenaciously that it is difficult to get anything new accepted. In a demotic community, on the other hand, there may simply be no standards in such an intricate matter as education; the diverse elements in the population came there with standards so different that no one standard could be established. Ideals are a chaos; new ideals have to grow, and the material ones are likely to grow first. Report comes from a new city in the West to the effect that only strong and well-prepared teachers who can supply the ideals are wanted; they will be given a free hand in doing this, and will be paid liberally for it, but they must show results soon.

Density

The social organization of any people varies radically according to the density of the population. Human beings, like any other form of life, tend to multiply up to the limit

of the food supply and the other means of subsistence which are under their control. During a time of transition, as when a civilized people is taking possession of a country previously occupied by savages, the population may be small in comparison with the means of subsistence. But population will double every generation when circumstances are favorable, and so genetic increase alone will in time cause it to press upon the limits. Unused resources are also a powerful attraction to immigration. It is possible, therefore, for a newly opened region to become well occupied in even less than a generation. For example, Mexico ceded California in 1848 with a very sparse population. Gold was discovered there that same year, and immigration began at once. California became a state in 1850 with a population of 92,597, and in 1860 the population was 379,994. In 1859 silver was found in the territory of Utah. Again population followed, this time from the west as well as from the east. The district thus settled was set off as the territory of Nevada in 1861, and admitted as a state in 1864. Oklahoma is a more recent example of a new state made in less than a generation.

The way the population is arranged on the land depends on the character of the industries. Agriculture is the only industry which tends to disperse the population at all evenly. The other extractive industries mass it at the points most accessible to the resources. A mine in a newly settled country means a town set in a wilderness. Manufacturing, when not subsidiary to agriculture, gathers the population into cities of moderate size. The cities of metropolitan size are formed by commerce.

Density of population depends on the quantity of food produced. The beginnings of social evolution . . . are always to be found in a bountiful environment. Moreover, density of population follows abundance of food, whether the supplies are obtained from the soil directly, or indirectly, in exchange for manufactures: and other things being equal,

the activity and the progress of society depend, within limits, on the density of the population.

A sparse population, scattered over a poor soil, can carry on production only by primitive methods and on a small scale. It can have only the most rudimentary division of labor; it cannot have manufacturing industries, or good roads, or a rapid interchange of intelligence; all of which, together with a highly developed industrial organization and a perfect utilization of capital, are possible to the populations that are relatively dense.

A highly developed political life, too, is found only where population is compact. Civil liberty means discussion, and discussion is dependent on the frequent meeting of considerable bodies of men who have varied interests and who look at life from different points of view. Movements for the increase of popular freedom have usually started in towns. The American Revolution and the anti-slavery agitation were as peculiarly products of town life as are socialism, nationalism, and the single tax agitation to-day.

Education, religion, art, science, and literature are all dependent on a certain density of population. Schools, universities, churches, the daily newspaper, great publishing houses, libraries, and museums come only when the population per square mile is expressed by more than one unit, and their decay is one of the first symptoms that population is declining. Long before the desertion of the country villages in several of our eastern states had begun to attract the attention of economists, the decline of the schools and the churches was observed with solicitude by educators and by the religious press. — Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 366, 367.

Application to Education

Density of population affects education by its bearing on the degree to which schools can be specialized. If the pupils in one school are few, there can be little variety in the teaching and the equipment must be meager; the education can be as broad and advanced as human culture itself only where there are great numbers of pupils. Most of the universities are situated in or near metropolitan cities. The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools refuses to approve a high school with fewer than four teachers. An investigation made in 1912 of 667 of the nearly 800 approved

schools showed that only 74 of them were in cities and towns of 2500 inhabitants or under, and there were over 5000 such communities in the states represented.[1]

A Comparative Study of City School and Rural School Attendance, University of Iowa Studies in Education, . . . shows that . . . although town teachers are paid higher wages, the cost for teachers per pupil per day is 25 per cent higher in rural schools, and although town schools have better equipment and better buildings, the cost for maintenance per pupil per day is 18 per cent higher in the country. — *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 3, p. 481.

In the Old World, where it is common to find the agricultural population living in small villages, the rural school problem is simpler; but in this country, where it is usual for the farmer to live on the land which he cultivates, and the average farm contains 136 acres, the problem of providing suitable rural schools has defied satisfactory solution. In the regions where irrigation has been developed, or where intensive culture of any kind comes in, the situation is different. An example of this is the new town of Twin Falls in Idaho. There during the year 1912–13 the children from the surrounding country who came in to school numbered 400. There were 19 wagons employed to bring them, with an average length of route of only four miles and the longest only a little over five miles.

Differences of Age and Sex

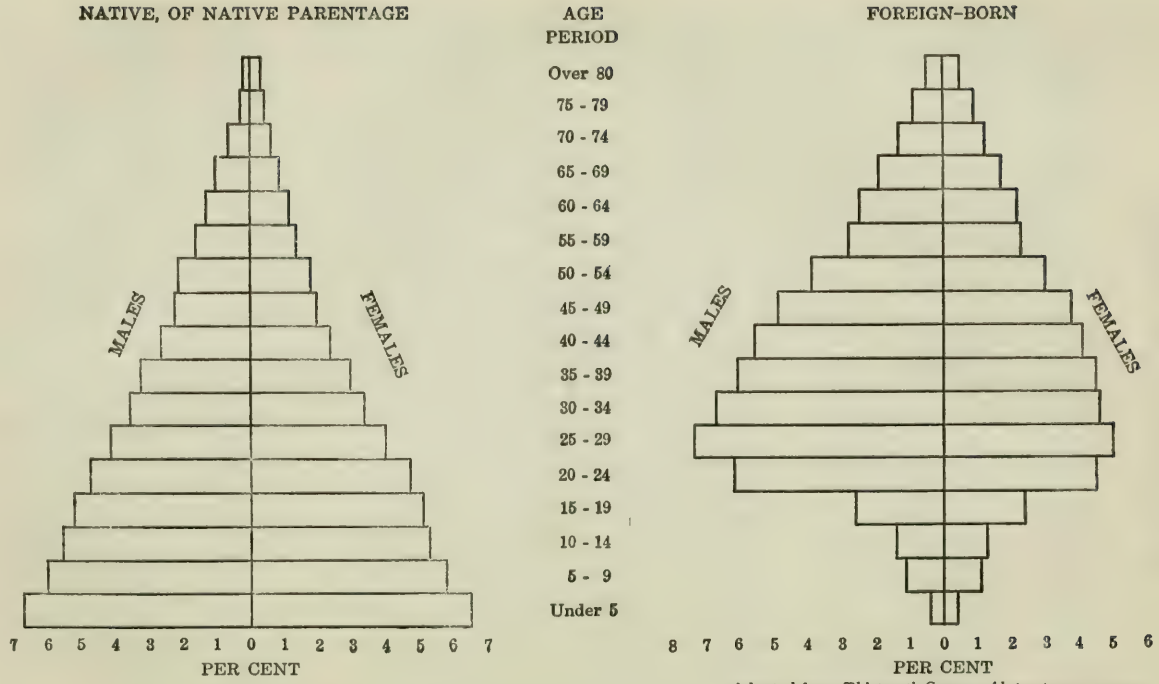
Besides the differences in nationality or place of birth, it is useful in statistics of population to classify according to sex and age; the teacher often finds it convenient to classify the pupils in that way, and is sometimes required to do so.

Nature sees to it that the numbers of the two sexes are nearly equal. A difference of more than two or three per

[1] National Society for the Study of Education, *Thirteenth Yearbook*, Part I, pp. 76, 79.

cent is due to social causes. The chief cause of inequality is migration, as the males tend to move first. In most European countries the censuses show the females to be in excess from one to six per cent. In the United States the only states having an excess of females by the census of 1910 were Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Maryland, and the two Carolinas. The males were heavily in excess throughout the West — over 20 per cent in nine states, and over 30 per cent in six, the greatest being in Nevada, where it was 79 per cent. Of course such extreme disparity brings serious results to all forms of social organization, most especially to cultural institutions such as the schools.

In regard to age, it is usual to think of the population in generations, a generation being "the mass of beings living at one period," "the average lifetime of man, or the ordinary period of time at which one rank follows another, or father is succeeded by child." This period is about thirty or thirty-five years, three to a century. But with the school population a generation means something different. In a room containing children of a single grade the population changes almost completely in one year. In a high school four years make a generation, and so also in a college. If we put together the eight years of elementary school, the four years of high school, and the four years of college, with a professional course perhaps added to or replacing college, we get sixteen to twenty years as the duration of a school generation for the lawyers, physicians, clergymen, teachers, and others composing the small fraction of the population who have higher education. For the rest of the population, and the great bulk of it, the length of a school generation would scarcely average half as long, though scattering freely between six years and twelve. It may be conveniently near the truth, therefore, to assume for computation in round numbers that there are in a century six school generations of the highly educated and twelve of the lesser educated. Then we may reckon that the principal



Adapted from *Thirteenth Census Abstract*, pp. 122–124.

DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY SEX AND AGE PERIODS.
(Native population of foreign parentage omitted.)

who has charge of the same elementary school for twenty-five years supervises the education of three generations of children.

The distribution of population by age depends chiefly on the death rate at the successive age periods. The number of children born varies but little from year to year. Among those born in a given year the death rate is high during infancy, very slow in later childhood and youth, and increasingly rapid after the age of 25. Therefore in a genetic population the number of persons of a given age is always greater than the number of any higher age. The negroes of this country are so short-lived that only 14 per cent are over 45 years of age, while 18 per cent of the native whites of native parentage are over that age.

With age distribution as with sex distribution the great disturbing factor giving rise to variation from the normal is migration. That has caused the male population of 20 to 24 years of age in the United States to exceed the males of 15 to 19 years by 53,000. If we take the foreign-born males by themselves we find that 11 per cent of them are 20 to 24 years of age, to only 4.7 per cent who are 15 to 19, and still smaller proportions of those of younger ages. In the state of Nevada the children under fourteen years of age make only twenty per cent of the population as compared with thirty or forty per cent in many of the other states.

A newly settled agricultural community, however, has a large percentage of children, larger perhaps than it will ever have again. This is shown in the following table. The names on the left-hand side are of counties in Wisconsin which made the greatest increase in population from 1900 to 1910; on the right-hand side are the names of the four counties which showed the greatest decrease in the same period.

Counties Increasing in Population			Counties Decreasing in Population		
Names	Increase per cent	Per cent children 6–9 years	Names	Decrease per cent	Per cent children 6–9 years
Forest . . .	386	10.	Pierce . . .	7.8	9.
Price . . .	51	10.5	Adams . . .	5.9	8.9
Washburn . .	48	10.9	Crawford . .	5.8	9.2
Rusk . . .	New	10.4	Juneau . .	5.1	8.1

If the table had been extended to include counties showing a smaller increase or decrease, the disparity in the proportion of children would have continued. Every county, except those containing large cities, that increased in population over twenty per cent had a larger proportion of children than any county that decreased over two per cent. Evidently the subduing of new land is an undertaking which attracts young families, so that the first generation of children is often larger than the succeeding one. As a result of this tendency we get such experiences with rural schools as these:

In a district near my home the number of children increased from forty to sixty in fifteen years. The district provided for the increase by building a new schoolhouse twice as large as the old one. In another twenty years the attendance dropped to forty-five.

Our home school had an enrollment of about fifty when I attended there as a child. It has now decreased to eighteen.

This fluctuation in the proportion of children doubtless leads to mistakes in the creation of school districts and so aggravates the difficulty inherent in the rural school problem wherever the population is sparse, sometimes even causing difficulty where the population is not particularly sparse. The report of the Wisconsin state superintendent of public instruction for 1908–10 gives eighty-seven schools as having an enrollment of five or less. Thirty of these schools are in eleven counties which were settled early and are now declining

in rural population. Eight schools are in the three counties having less than six inhabitants to the square mile, and forty are in the eleven counties having from six to eighteen inhabitants to the square mile.

The Teaching Population

The census of 1900 reported the teaching population of the United States as 438,361. This was .0058 of the total population, or a trifle over one half of one per cent. Teachers were first enumerated separately in 1850 and they then made only .0013 of the total. Since then the proportion has increased at every census. In 1870 it was almost exactly one third of one per cent. These figures are a measure of the growing importance of education, and a truer measure than sums of money spent: the proportion of the population set apart for teaching increased over fourfold in fifty years. The proportion of female teachers is increasing. In 1880 they were a little over two thirds of the total number of teachers; in 1900 they were nearly three fourths. In fact, the increase in the proportion of the total population devoted to teaching has gone wholly to the females. Of all the males engaged in gainful occupations, the proportion engaged in teaching has remained about constant.

It is interesting to see how the nationalities vary in the extent to which they are engaged in the teaching profession. As would be expected, the native whites of native parentage are in the teaching profession beyond the proportion of their number, and the foreign born to only a slight extent. Some of the native born of foreign parents also rank very low, while others rise in proportion nearly to that of the native stock. Taking the total number of each nationality, native born but of foreign parentage, who are engaged in gainful occupations, and then finding the per cent of each engaged in teaching, we get the following results for female teachers:

	Per Cent
Native parents	10.8
Canadian English	9.0
English and Welsh	8.4
Scotch	9.3
French	7.3
Norwegian	6.1
Irish	5.6

For some of the other nationalities the proportion falls below one per cent, which means that they cannot become sufficiently Americanized in one generation to make acceptable teachers.

A comparison of the age-distribution of teachers shows that they are younger than the persons engaged in most other callings. They are not as young as stenographers, or domestic servants, or farm laborers; but they are younger than farmers, physicians, lawyers, or bankers.

Age-Distribution, by Per Cents, of Teachers, Stenographers, Lawyers, and Bankers

Age Periods	Teachers		Total	Stenographers	Lawyers	Bankers
	Male	Female		Total	Total	Male
10–15		.1	.1	1.3		
16–24	30.4	46.2	42.1	61.9	6.8	3.2
25–34	38.2	34.8	35.7	29.8	29.1	12.3
35–44	16.3	11.7	13.1	5.4	25.2	17.4
45–54	8.2	4.6	5.5	1.0	18.8	18.1
55–64	4.1	1.8	2.3	.3	12.5	19.7
Over 65	2.0	.5	.9	.1	7.3	29.0
Unknown	.3	.3	.3	.2	.3	.3

— Compiled from *Twelfth Census, Occupations*, pp. 7, 16, 17.

. . . Men now teaching began teaching all the way from fifteen to thirty-eight years of age. Although the eighteenth year is the one about which the cases cluster, the median beginning age is 19.88 years. This means that there are just as many men who began teaching at 19.87 years of age or less as there are who began teaching at 19.89 years of age or more. Fifty per cent of all the men begin teaching between the ages of 17.96 years and 21.80 years.

. . . The median beginning age for women is 19.38 years, exactly one-half year younger than it is for men. As many women begin teaching at 19.37 years of age or less as begin at 19.39 years of age or more. Fifty per cent of all the women begin between the ages of 18.22 years and 20.54 years.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the median age of normal school students — the population preparing to teach — is 19, and that 85 per cent are between 17 and 21. . . .

The median age of men teachers is 29.05 and the quartile is 7.40. This means that 50 per cent of the men teachers are between 21.65 and 36.45 years old. . . .

The median age of the women is 24.1 years, and the variability is 4.21 years. . . .

. . . In round numbers one-half of the men and two-thirds of the women are under 30 years of age. Every third man and every second woman is under 25 years of age. Considering teachers in general 56 per cent are 25 years of age or under.

	Median Age	
	Men	Women
Rural schools	22.84	21.42
Town schools	32.68	25.76
City schools	34.60	27.45

— Coffman, *Social Composition of the Teaching Population*, pp. 16–18, 22, 23, 25.

Topics

1. What is the density of population in this state? What state has the greatest density? The least? *Census; Statistical Abstract.*

2. Put on the blackboard the names of states, with their respective per cents, so as to extend the lists given on pp. 5 and 6.

3. Put figures on the blackboard to show the distribution of the population of the United States according to sex. Select the two states which represent the greatest variations from the average.

4. Do the same for the distribution according to age.

5. Do the same for the distribution between city and country.

6. How great is the variation in the proportion of children of school age to the total population? Find the states which represent the extremes.

7. Study further the distribution of the population with reference to age, occupation, and nationality. For this purpose the *Twelfth Census, Occupations*, is better than the *Thirteenth*.

8. The distinction between rural communities and urban. Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, pp. 9–19, 32–39; American Sociological Society, *Publications*, Vol. XI, "The Sociology of Rural Life," especially pp. 12–20, W. H. Wilson.

9. The variation in the number of pupils per teacher is worked out more fully for the high schools of the North Central states in the *Thirteenth Yearbook* of the National Society for the Study of Education, pp. 80–82.

Problems

1. Describe the educational system in some community that is extremely demotic. In one that is extremely genetic.

2. What are the characteristic features of education in a sparsely settled region? In a district that is densely populated?

3. Why is there variation in the proportion of children to total population? How much time is required to go from one extreme to the other? How does the transition affect the problem of providing school facilities?

References

Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 3–12.
Coffman, *Social Composition of the Teaching Population*, pp. 16–25.
Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 1–11, 280–298.
Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, pp. 168–196.
Fairbanks, *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 79–86.
Fairchild, *Applied Sociology* pp. 198–207, increase; 229–243, migration.
* Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 79–100, 157, 168–169.
* Giddings, *Elements of Sociology*, pp. 22–32, 103–118.

* The asterisk is used here and throughout the volume to designate the references which are most pertinent and which might well be made required reading.

Giddings, *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 72–91, 104–123.

Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 42–59, rural; 60–70, city.

Jessup, *The Teaching Staff*, pp. 41–53.

Keane, *Ethnology*, ch. I.

Keller, *Societal Evolution*, pp. 274–299, sparse population.

Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society*, pp. 276–310, race; 311–330, sex.

Malthus, *Principle of Population.* Selections in Bullock's *Readings in Economics*, pp. 255–286; Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems*, pp. 20–78, especially pp. 20–26, "Ratios of the Increase of Population and Food."

Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education*, "Teachers, Sex of."

National Society for the Study of Education, *Thirteenth Yearbook*, Part I, pp. 73–91, population statistics of the North Central high schools.

Thorndike, *Education*, pp. 230–261, school population of the United States.

Towne, *Social Problems*, pp. 18–38.

CHAPTER II

LOCATION

No matter what modifications further study may necessitate it would seem that at last we are reaching the point where definite measurements may be made of man's reactions to the physical world, and we may hope for much greater knowledge in the near future. — Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society*, p. 41.

. . . It is impossible to understand man unless we understand his physical setting, the conditions of his life, the realities that surround him, the favorable and the unfavorable accidents promoting or opposing his well-being. To comprehend and appreciate the drama of human life we need to familiarize ourselves with its scenery and staging no less than with the characters and their sentiments. . . . — Clarke, *The School and Other Educators*, p. 129.

THE group of people who constitute a society must take account of their location. If the group moves from one location to another, its organization must be readjusted to fit the new location. This becomes apparent when a family moves from one house to another, when a class in school changes its meeting place from one room to another, when a business establishment changes from one building to another.

The social organization of a nation takes its impress from the country which it inhabits. In building a city the human factor must combine with the geographical factor; the lay of the land on which the city stands, and also of the land far beyond its limits, decides many things about it. An educational system also must walk on the earth; it must fit the locality, or else fit the locality to itself, and in the latter case it must employ fit instruments and methods. In a sense, man and all his works are a part of the earth — a superficial

variation which has appeared on the earth's crust in recent geological time.

The full treatment of these interrelations between a people and the land they inhabit belongs to geography; one part of it, the share of natural agents in the production of wealth, is treated in economics. But sociology must restate from its own viewpoint whatever principles it takes from these sciences.

Writers

The earliest writers to analyze at all fully the influence of physical environment on human society were Montesquieu (1689–1755) and Buckle (1821–1862). Buckle, in his incomplete *History of Civilization in England*, writes thus of Montesquieu:

> He was the first who . . . called in the aid of physical knowledge, in order to ascertain how the character of any given civilization is modified by the action of the external world. In his work on the *Spirit of Laws*, he studies the way in which both the civil and political legislation of a people are naturally connected with their climate, soil, and food. It is true, that in this vast enterprise he almost entirely failed, but this was because meteorology, chemistry, and physiology, were still too backward to admit of such an undertaking. — Second Edition, p. 595.

But both of these writers discussed the influence of location only incidentally as part of a larger subject, Buckle the more fully of the two. Like his predecessor also, Buckle went farther than the evidence warranted and drew some fanciful conclusions — so much so that his work was for a time discredited. But the subject is an alluring one, and there is always need of caution in treating it. In recent years there has been a revival of Buckle's book, and the attention given him now rivals that given to Montesquieu. It is the geographers, however, who have done the best work. Guyot (1807–1884) developed industrial geography into shape so

that it could be taught in schools. The master among them all is Ratzel, who calls this subject anthropo-geography. His results have been popularized among Americans in the writing and teaching of Miss Ellen Semple, especially in her book, *Influences of Geographic Environment.* The outline which follows is an adaptation of the one given in her Chapter II.

FACTORS OF GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT

1. *Influence of Climate*

There is the direct influence of geographic conditions on man's constitution, causing what the biologists call modifications. Examples of these are the sluggishness induced by living in the tropics, the hardihood of mountaineers, the mental alertness of the peoples of the temperate zones. There is a book [1] which attributes to climate a large share in determining the number of homicides in a country.

> Everywhere a cold climate puts a steadying hand on the human heart and brain. It gives an autumn tinge to life. Among the folk of warmer lands eternal spring holds sway. National life and temperament have the buoyancy and thoughtlessness of childhood, its charm and its weakness. — Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, p. 621.

There is the influence of diseases peculiar to climate, such as catarrh, malaria, and hookworm. Man can live in any climate on the earth when he becomes accustomed to it, and makes proper provision to cope with it; he is the most cosmopolitan of animals. The greatest difficulty seems to come when people from northern or temperate regions are being acclimated in the tropics. When any country opposes invaders who come from a different climate, one of its strong defenses is in the diseases and hardships peculiar to its climate.

Climate makes the calendar for outdoor occupations of all kinds, such as agriculture, fishing, traveling (other than by

[1] Morrison, *Crime and its Causes.*

rail), and field sports. Through these it sets the seasons for much indoor work as well, fixing the time of stress and of vacation.

Of more importance are the indirect influences of climate. First there are the social arrangements to which the foregoing direct influences lead. One of them is the political backwardness of tropical regions, involving at the present time the subjection of most of them to the states of the temperate zones. Montesquieu noted that the capital city of a country is best located in its northern part.

A warm and even climate makes it possible to exist at small cost in either money or labor; this favors abundant population and low wages — a point which Buckle makes much of. A cold climate is repressing to primitive peoples who have not learned how to cope with it; it keeps down their numbers, makes large states impossible, and prevents progress. But after the subtropical zone developed enough civilization to provide adequate shelter against the cold, and after the northern peoples had adopted civilization from the south, then life in the north became more comfortable than in the south, and the north took the lead in civilization. The varied seasons of the north give variety to life and require complicated social arrangements. The members of a family spend more of their time at home, thus fostering domestic life.

> What matter how the night behaved?
> What matter how the north-wind raved?
> Blow high, blow low, not all its snow
> Could quench our hearth-fire's ruddy glow.
>
> — Whittier, *Snow-Bound.*

The winter, when the soil cannot be worked and the nights are long, favors manufacturing and other forms of indoor work. Extreme changes in the weather have in recent years caused the science of meteorology to have a practical application in the work of the weather bureaus. This, of course,

reacts upon the science and contributes powerfully to its further development. Finally, climate makes some places more desirable for residence than others. This leads to the partial segregation of the leisure classes, which in turn brings other consequences of importance.

Man grew in the temperate zone, was born in the Tropics. . . . Where man has remained in the Tropics, with few exceptions he has suffered arrested development. His nursery has kept him a child. Though his initial progress depended upon the gifts which Nature put into his hands, his later evolution depended far more upon the powers which she developed within him. These have no limit, so far as our experience shows, but their growth is painful, reluctant. Therefore they develop only where Nature subjects man to compulsion, forces him to earn his daily bread, and thereby something more than bread. . . .

Most of the ancient civilizations originated just within the mild but drier margin of the Temperate Zone, where the cooler air of a short winter acted like a tonic upon the energies relaxed by the lethargic atmosphere of the hot and humid Tropics; where congenial warmth encouraged vegetation, but where the irrigation necessary to secure abundant and regular crops called forth inventiveness, coöperation, and social organization, and gave to the people their first baptism of redemption from savagery to barbarism. . . .

As the Tropics have been the cradle of humanity, the Temperate Zone has been the cradle and school of civilization. Here Nature has given much by withholding much. Here man found his birthright, the privilege of struggle. — Semple, *op. cit.*, pp. 634, 635.

. . . The hypothesis, briefly stated, is this: Today a certain peculiar type of climate prevails wherever civilization is high. In the past the same type seems to have prevailed wherever a great civilization arose. Therefore, such a climate seems to be a necessary condition of great progress. It is not the cause of civilization, for that lies infinitely deeper. Nor is it the only, or the most important condition. It is merely one of several, just as the abundant supply of pure water is one of the primary conditions of health. Good water will not make people healthy, nor will a favorable climate cause a stupid and degenerate race to rise to a high level. Nevertheless, if the water is bad, people cannot retain their health and strength, and similarly when the climate becomes unfit, no race can apparently retain its energy and progressiveness. . . . — Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, p. 9.

2. *Natural Resources*

The natural world exercises its greatest influence in varying human society through the materials which it provides for man to appropriate or work upon. Where there are no available materials, as in the polar regions, on high mountains, in regions of excessive aridity, and on the deep sea, the earth remains a desert except as it may be necessary to pass through from one habitable locality to another. Amount and variety of food sets the limit to population; food depends on animal and vegetable life, the former in turn depending on the latter; then vegetable life depends on soil and climate. The food materials available determine directly or indirectly the occupations in which a large portion of the people must engage. The Germans have a pun to express the importance of food, *Mann ist was Mann isst*, "Man is what he eats," though it loses half its point in being translated.

Materials for clothing are perhaps next in importance. This is well illustrated by the fur-trade in the far north, which tempts white men into a life of semibarbarism, and offers the aborigines a larger reward for adhering to their old pursuits of hunting and trapping than they could obtain by the occupations of civilization. Materials for fuel and building, since they exist only in certain localities, fix the occupations of the peoples possessing them, especially in cold climates. Rich deposits of the metals do the same, provided the people have learned how to work them. Iron nowadays means a large manufacturing population, provided coal is within easy reach. The precise location of the iron works must be at some point where it is convenient to bring the coal and iron together and ship away the heavy products, as witness Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, the cities around the south end of Lake Michigan, Essen, and the two Birminghams.

Though commerce be subject to great revolutions, yet it is possible that certain physical causes, as the quality of the soil, or the climate, may fix its nature for ever.

In Europe there is a kind of balance between the southern and northern nations. The first have every convenience of life, and few of its wants: the last have many wants, and few conveniences. To one nature has given much, and demands little; to the other she has given but little, and demands a great deal. The equilibrium is maintained by the laziness of the southern nations, and by the industry and activities which she has given to those of the north. . . .

. . . The trade of Europe is, at present, carried on principally from the north to the south; and the difference of climate is the cause that the several nations have great occasion for the merchandise of each other. — Montesquieu, *op. cit.*, Book XXI, 1, 2, 3.

3. *Physical Features*

While differences in production determine the directions of trade, it is physical features chiefly that determine the precise routes to be taken; they also determine the lines along which population moves. The point at which a country can most easily be entered may decide what nationality shall possess it. Ease of communication between one part and another by waterways, river valleys, passes through the mountains, or a continuous area with population-supporting resources in all parts, tends to make a homogeneous people. In this way physical features tend to determine the size of a state.

In Asia they have always had great empires; in Europe these could never subsist. Asia has larger plains; it is cut out into much more extensive divisions by mountains and seas. . . .

In Europe the natural division forms many nations of a moderate extent. . . . — Montesquieu, *op. cit.*, Book XVII.

Environments are of two fundamental types in respect of their power to maintain society; those that are so poorly endowed with resources that they can maintain and attract only relatively small numbers of inhabitants, and those that, being richly endowed, support large populations of the native born, and tend to draw a large immigration from elsewhere. Each of these types of environment, in turn, presents two well-marked subdivisions: the isolated, or difficult of access or of egress; and the accessible, a land of ports and open ways, through which the cur-

rents of population may easily flow. — American Economic Association, *Publications*, Third Series, Vol. 5, p. 154 (398), Giddings, "A Theory of Social Causation."

Barriers like mountains, sandy deserts, or wide seas protect a country from external foes and give it a chance to develop a distinctive culture. If these barriers hem a people in as well, they make for isolation and ultimate stagnation; but if they permit free communication with the outside world so that the country can export its distinctive products and import those of other countries, the social life will constitute a part of the world development — how large a part depending on the extent of the country's resources and the genius of the people. Before the advent of modern means of travel, India was the great example of a country so isolated as to be stagnant. In modern times China has been the "hermit kingdom," though it, too, has lately been brought into the main current of the world's affairs by improved means of communication. The student of history can easily name examples of countries with barriers sufficient to protect but not to isolate, also of countries without even protective barriers.

Educational Applications

The direct effects of climate on mankind appear in the school calendar. The long vacation is a concession to the enervating influence of heat, to the greater attractiveness of outdoor life in the summer, and to the need for the labor of children in agriculture. This appears in the season selected for it, in the length given it, and in the reversal of the time in the southern hemisphere from that in the northern. In regions where the highways are not improved, there are usually seasons when travel is difficult. Vacations for rural schools are timed so as to include these seasons. In the northern tier of states the worst season comes in the spring when the snow is going off and the frost is coming out of the ground.

A month or six weeks is allowed to intervene then between the close of the winter term of school and the opening of the summer term. In the Kentucky mountains the season of bad roads and school vacation begins about Christmas. The present tendency to have vacation schools does not count against the point here made, but rather is added testimony in favor of it, because the vacation schools have a different kind of work from the regular terms; it is a further effort to suit the work of the school to the season of the year. City children who cannot go to the country for vacation or agriculture have no need of a long vacation.

Sometimes teachers make a concession to the weather in the arrangement of the daily program on a day of excessive heat; likewise in the kind of lessons assigned and the kind of work done in classes.

My school in W. County began in the middle of August to allow for a fall vacation of two weeks when the children assisted in the potato harvest. The spring recess was not fixed at a certain date in the calendar, but came at the time of the spring thaw.

The schools of North Crandon, Forest County, were closed the first two weeks in October to enable the pupils to take part in the tobacco harvest.

In southwestern Colorado at certain seasons the heat during the middle of the day is too oppressive for work, though the mornings and evenings are always cool. The schools therefore have a two-hour nooning, but continue later in the afternoon than is usual elsewhere.

One rainy day I gave my pupils a monthly test, and all failed but two out of fourteen. They seemed restless and could not remember things. The next day I gave a harder test to make up the work, and all but one passed. Children can work far better on bright than on cloudy days. The teacher should be aware of this fact and make the most of it.

Teachers should avoid new work of a difficult character in off weather. Games, floor-gymnastics, and story-telling should have more time than usual. Reviews and rapid exercises should be prominent, and new work reserved as far as possible for clear weather.

There is a monograph, *Conduct and the Weather*, with a section on the public schools, the latter being based on 86 answers to a questionnaire. One superintendent reported that attendance was lowest in January; the absences were 10.7 per cent. The evidence is fairly satisfactory in regard to

> . . . hot, cold, calm, muggy and clear days . . .; cold, calm and clear ones producing a favorable result, and the others the reverse. Windy, stormy and cloudy days are not generally mentioned as having much influence. . . .
>
> The cause of the exhilarating effect of a dry atmosphere seems to be the increased electrical condition accompanying it. . . . The low humidity common to Colorado and the higher altitudes makes this condition, to an extent, a permanent one. . . . Work is, for the most part, turned off under high pressure, with the necessary consequence that it generally cannot be so long maintained without a resulting condition of partial collapse ensuing, which demands a brief sojourn at a lower altitude for its relief. Ministers, teachers, lawyers, and professional men generally feel this especially, and recognize the necessity of longer vacations than were needed by them when working at lower altitudes. The school quarter is shortened in accordance with this requirement, and even then the mental collapse of both pupil and teacher is usually greater than that felt by them at the conclusion of the longer school year in a more humid climate. — Dexter, *Conduct and the Weather*, pp. 32, 50–52.

It may be important for some teachers to know that teaching in the tropics is different from teaching in a temperate region.

> I have a friend who taught two years in Panama. She was delighted with the work at first but became less interested as time went on. She was naturally bright and cheerful. At the end of two years she had lost ambition, was given to melancholy moods, and finally resigned in order to come home.
>
> If you want to lose all interest in life, in your ideals and in all that is worth while, go and teach in the Philippines. Take this from one who has been there.
>
> Not one of the great philosophers, scientists, and inventors who have revolutionized society in the last five hundred years has come from the tropics.

But there is another side which should not be forgotten. The above quotations present only one side, true to a degree and worthy of consideration, yet not the whole truth. Civilization is in part a process of overcoming just these disadvantages of location. Persons in ordinary good health can resist the unfavorable influences of tropical climate; a school can continue to do good work in unfavorable weather; but in both cases the proper methods must be employed. If we go to Panama and continue the same hearty eating and vigorous exercise in the sunshine to which we are accustomed in Wisconsin, we shall probably see a decline in both our efficiency and our health. The construction of the Panama Canal has shown that people from the temperate zone can live in the tropics and keep their health. Have we ever tried to find the best regimen for life in Panama, or whether there may not be a kind of work for which we are more efficient there than anywhere else? The world's great religions all took their start in the low latitudes. From one to three thousand years ago the Hindoos produced a literature which even Teutonic scholars to-day study with respect. The genius of the tropics may not be to develop vast organizations for the purpose of wringing a subsistence from nature, but rather to establish simple, workable relations between man and man, to show how to maintain an inner life of contemplation which will keep feeling wholesome when the body is inactive. The negroes of this country have given us a distinctive poetry and a distinctive music; perhaps they will some day contribute to our ethics. One of the problems of education in warm countries certainly must be to make intelligent use of these tendencies which climate fosters.

The resources of a region, by determining occupations, have always strongly influenced education, sometimes to the extent of being the determining factor. Where no schools exist each person gets his education from whatever occupation he follows; and even where there are schools the result of

the partial subjection to their training for half a dozen years more or less soon disappears except as that training is reënforced by the lifetime of occupation which follows it. An enlightened educational system takes account of the occupations which the locality favors.

A population develops a sentimental attachment to its location. The newcomer does not share in this, and if he chances to be of a critical type of mind the disadvantages of the location are prominent to him. If he be outspoken as well, he is likely to fall into disfavor because of the hard raps which he gives to the local sentiment.

A teacher told the geography class that the soil about the city was so sandy that it was good for nothing. The pupils reported this remark in their homes, and it finally reached the ears of the superintendent. He then had to show her how her remark was not only to the disadvantage of the city, but was also an exaggeration amounting to untruth. She had failed to realize that each community must make the most of its situation; that this sandy soil, though not good for most crops, was fine for cranberries and potatoes.

One precept which schools for the training of teachers need to harp on is that one of the first tasks of the newly located teacher is to get a vision of the economic problem of the community so that she will both consciously and unconsciously influence her pupils toward the right attitude for meeting it successfully.

Human Factors in the Locality; School Buildings

This chapter so far has discussed location as nature makes it. Location as man makes it is a social product and not a primary factor. But the newcomer in a community finds himself in an environment of men and the work of men's hands which he had no share in making and will be impotent, for a time at least, to change. The same is true of a small society of recent origin, say a debating club in a school. This debating club perhaps meets in a room ill suited to its pur-

poses, shared with other societies, not exchangeable for any other. This room, for the present, is as much a part of the inevitable location in which that club exists as is the climate, and should be included in a description of it.

In the latter part of the summer of 1912, just two weeks before the opening of school, the high school building at N. burned. A fifth-grade class was assigned to a vacant store half a block from Main Street. Up to this time these children had been noted as being particularly bright and well behaved. But the new surroundings — close to a busy street, unattractive within the walls, noisy without, badly lighted, cold in winter and sweltering in warm days in the fall and spring — changed the spirit of the pupils. The boys became unruly; the class became known as a "tough one." There was no other teacher in the building so that they feared no higher authority. The teacher gave up in despair, and every other teacher dreaded being assigned to that grade. But the next year another change took place. The new buildings were completed, and this group was removed to an attractive room in one of them. In the new surroundings, with a strong principal as part of them, that group of children now occasions no more complaints.

There have been many schoolhouses with the shape and simplicity of a chalk box, but that type is becoming less frequent. School architecture has received increasing attention lately from architects, physicians, artists, and other specialists, so that now no one is passably informed on the subject who has not given much study to the designs introduced within the last ten years. The one-room rural schoolhouse has improved as much in proportion to what it used to be as has the city high school building. Teachers should of course be ready with information on this subject when new buildings are contemplated, and should know how to keep the more elaborate equipment of a modern building in good condition.

. . . The new Washington Irving High School [in New York City] is acknowledged by experts to be the finest public school building ever erected. It is an eight-story structure and occupies half of a city block in Irving Place, between Sixteenth and Seventeenth Streets. Some of the interesting features of the high school are:

Seven-room apartment for study of domestic science.

Conservatory on the roof for study of botany.

Cages for animals to be borrowed from the New York Zoölogical Park.

Fully equipped laundry.

Bookbinding plant.

Banking department, completely equipped with furniture, books, adding-machines, etc.

Basket-ball courts on roof.

Four gymnasiums with shower baths.

Seven large rooms for 200 sewing-machines.

Typewriting classroom with 200 typewriting machines.

Classroom with department-store features for the study of salesmanship.

Luncheon room for 700 pupils.

Auditorium, with large stage, where 1550 persons can be seated.

The school will care for 5900 pupils, and 228 instructors will be employed. Six high schools will be abandoned in Manhattan and the pupils assembled in the new building. The new high school building was erected at a cost of one and one quarter million dollars. Besides the many innovations introduced, every modern appliance and equipment to be found in any part of the world has been obtained for the school. — Johnston, *The Modern High School*, pp. 6, 7.

In European countries, especially in small village schools, the teacher's house is usually under the same roof with the schoolrooms. In larger schools it forms a separate building, but is situated on the school grounds. . . . If every country school were supplied with 10 acres of good, well-drained land, and 3 acres of it were set apart for playgrounds and school buildings and the other 7 acres for a teacher's home and the school experiment farm, the ratio would be approximately correct. . . .

The cottage for the teacher should be as far as possible a model of its kind for the neighborhood. A beautiful, well-planned, and sanitary cottage on the school farm would help in a definite way to stimulate the farmers to build better houses (not more expensive ones) and to reconstruct to a degree those already built. . . .

To most people in this country it will be a surprise to learn that several States, notably Washington, already have teachers' cottages in connection with many of their country schools. . . .

. . . One consolidated country school in Wake County, N. C., has a cotton patch on the school grounds, planted and cultivated by the pupils. From the proceeds of the sale of the cotton grown on the grounds, furnishings and equipment were purchased for the school. On the second

floor of the building there is a small but convenient assembly room in which is a good piano purchased by funds from the school-garden products. In this school several high-school subjects are taught, literary societies have been organized, and community interest has been developed. . . . The attitude of the neighborhood people toward this school and its work is interesting; they feel that it is their "big school" and that their children are honored in attending it. — U. S. Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1914, No. 12, Dresslar, "Rural Schoolhouses and Grounds," pp. 122–124, 130.

The Physical Bases of Society

This is a convenient term to designate the ground which has been covered by these two chapters. The historian begins his story of a given country with a description of "the land" and "the people." Naturally authorities differ regarding the importance of these two bases relatively to each other, and also of both together compared with the psychical bases to be treated in the next two chapters, or with the ideals and forms of organization to be treated in subsequent chapters. The view that the physical bases are all-important has been called the "economic interpretation of history," and also "geographical determinism." One writer,[1] for instance, contends that American democracy is merely a product of frontier life which will pass away when population becomes dense and settled.

Topics

1. The influence of residence in the tropics on persons from the temperate zones. Interview persons who have been there.
2. The desirability of life for a teacher in the Philippines, Porto Rico, or Panama. Interview one who has been there.
3. Give other examples of the influence of climate on people. Draw on your knowledge of geography; of history.
4. Give specific instances — for which place and date could be given — of the influence of weather on school life. Interview teachers.

[1] Sumner, *Folkways*, pp. 76, 77, 162, 163.

5. In what ways do particular teachers plan to vary the usual routine of school in deference to extreme conditions of weather? In what ways do the school authorities permit such variations?

6. Find the exact time of the school vacations in the southern hemisphere, or in some latitude remote from our own.

7. Read Whittier's *Snow-Bound* and state the implications it makes about the social influence of winter.

8. Keep a record of the weather for a month. Compare with a teacher's record of daily recitations for the same period and see if there is any correlation.

9. Describe some new type of school building, from observation preferably. U. S. Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1914, No. 12.

Problems

1. Give examples of the way a society contributes to the making of the human factors in its environment.

2. Does man become more or less subservient to nature with the progress of civilization?

3. Is it better, rather than to vary the usual routine in deference to the weather, to teach pupils to heroically overcome whatever difficulties may beset the performance of the work which needs to be done?

4. Are cities located on suitable sites, or are the sites made suitable after the cities are located?

5. The advantages, other than economic, of rural location compared with urban. Ellis, *Task of Social Hygiene*, pp. 178–181; *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 20, pp. 577–612; Vol. 22, pp. 630–649.

6. In what ways should the character of the locality find recognition in the curriculum of the elementary school? Use this state as an illustration. Take note of climate, clothing, dwellings, and foods with their demands on domestic science; of prevalent industries, with their bearing on vocational training and with the need of dignifying the prevailing occupations.

References

Ayres, *School Buildings and Their Equipment*, in Cleveland Survey.

Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 67–81.

Buckle, *History of Civilization*, Chap. II. Selection in Carver, *Sociology and Social Progress*, pp. 174–270.

Chapin, *Social Evolution*, pp. 121–170.

Dexter, *Conduct and the Weather*, monograph supplement of *Psychological Review*, Vol. 2, No. 6.

Fairbanks, *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 69–79.

Giddings, *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 67–71, 92–96, 118–121, 272–274.

Giddings, *Elements of Sociology*, pp. 13–21.

Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 82–87.

Gillette, *Constructive Rural Sociology*, pp. 9–47.

Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 29–41.

Hoag and Terman, *Health Work in Schools*, pp. 133–220, five chapters on transmissible diseases, open-air schools, and school housekeeping.

Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, pp. 27–33, Bahamas; pp. 35–48, tropics; pp. 49–82, seasons; pp. 111–128, weather; pp. 129–182 and 199–218, climate and civilization, all summarized in the maps on p. 200.

Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*, pp. 1–16, Central Asia; pp. 125–132, the Kirghiz; pp. 223–238, the Chantos; pp. 359–385, the geographic basis of history.

Keller, *Societal Evolution*, pp. 256–273, arctic society; pp. 299–305 temperate climate *vs.* tropical.

Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society*, pp. 11–45.

Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education*, "Geography"; "Guyot"; "Ritter"; "Maps."

Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, Books XIV, XVII, XVIII.

National Society for the Study of Education, *Fifteenth Yearbook*, Part I, pp. 41–51, Strayer, "Score Card for City School Buildings," with bibliography.

* Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, especially the second chapter and the last.

Shaler, "Effect of the Physiography of North America on Men of European Origin," in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Vol. IV, pp. x–xxx, and reprinted in Bullock's *Selected Readings in Economics*, pp. 1–22.

Small, *General Sociology*, pp. 405–424.

Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, pp. 157–175.

Towne, *Social Problems*, pp. 1–17.

Treitschke, *Politics*, Vol. I, pp. 199–233.

U. S. Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1914, No. 12, Dresslar, "Rural Schoolhouses and Grounds."

Vogt, *Introduction to Rural Sociology*, pp. 26–34.

Ward, *Climate*, pp. 178–219, "The Hygiene of the Zones"; pp. 220–271, "The Life of Man in the Tropics"; pp. 272–321, "The Life of Man in the Temperate Zones"; pp. 322–337, "The Life of Man in the Polar Zones."

CHAPTER III

HUMAN NATURE

There is no way of coming at a true theory of society, but by inquiring into the nature of its component individuals. To understand humanity in its combinations, it is necessary to analyse that humanity in its elementary form — for the explanation of the compound, to refer back to the simple. We quickly find that every phenomenon exhibited by an aggregation of men, originates in some quality of man himself. — Spencer, *Social Statics*, 1st ed., p. 28.

Civilization represents the diversified issue of the play and sway of human qualities. . . .

. . . For the whole of human conduct, as of civilization, follows the clew of the endowment, needs, satisfactions, potencies, aspirations of the human mind. — Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, pp. 38, ix.

General View

THE subjects of the two preceding chapters are fairly simple, at least the phases of them selected for presentation here. The geographers and economists have done the pioneer work; the sociologists can enter and find pretty much what they want already wrought out. Not so, however, in this chapter. To be sure, we have here the pioneer work of the physiologists and psychologists, and indeed without that the sociologists might as well stay off the field altogether. But it is not possible, in the present state of knowledge, to present a chart of human nature or to describe it in terms that will be at once simple and true. Its varieties elude classification, its complexity defies anything approaching a final analysis. "To attempt a chemistry of the mind," says Jastrow, "is indeed vain." Furthermore, it is hard to discuss human nature and keep free from mystical or metaphysical conceptions which lie entirely beyond the domain of science; they

usually stand foremost in the thought of the untrained thinker, and even the trained thinker sometimes lets them into what he wishes to be a scientific discussion. Each person also has, as it were, an inside view of human nature derived from introspection and his own experience; this he interprets more or less independently of the findings of science, and sometimes in defiance of them. A scientific attitude toward human nature is slow in coming, and difficult to maintain, and to some persons it is impossible.

Today's sociology is still struggling with the preposterous initial fact of the individual. — Small, *General Sociology*, p. 443.

Limits

First it will be well to set limits to our undertaking, and the important thing in doing this is to cut off all metaphysical questions. We shall not learn, or even inquire, about the ultimate nature of human life: the body-mind problem, the question of free will *vs.* determinism, what is the highest good, whether there is a conscious purpose back of human existence. These questions belong to philosophy or religion. Science cannot answer them, at least at present, and some scholars grant that it can never answer them. No man has studied the whole realm of science more devotedly than Herbert Spencer, yet he entitled the first part of his *Synthetic Philosophy* "The Unknowable." Sociology assumes, just as physiology and psychology do, that man is a part of the natural world, that there are uniformities back of what we see or experience in this world, and that we can discover these uniformities by proper methods of study. But there is no assumption that we can know everything, or that there may not be other factors back of those which our science can discover, and other destinies beyond those which our science can predict.

. . . Everything in nature becomes unexplainable if we trace it far enough back. — L. F. Ward, *Pure Sociology*, pp. 493, 494.

. . . You might liken society to a party of men with lanterns making their way by night through an immeasurable forest. The light which the lanterns throw about each individual, and about the party as a whole, showing them how to guide their immediate steps, may increase indefinitely, illuminating more clearly a larger area; but there will always remain, probably, the plutonian wilderness beyond.—Cooley, *Social Process*, p. 362.

Life is Action

As far as our sciences have been able to interpret, human experience and the phenomena of society, like the subhuman phenomena of nature, are transformations of physical energy. Life, whether in man, brute, or plant, is never a static thing: it is action. To the physiologist life consists ultimately in that ceaseless chemical change, metabolism, which goes on in the cells of the body in the two complementary forms, anabolism and katabolism. The form of life which the psychologist studies is the stream of consciousness which accompanies the katabolism in the cells of the brain. Katabolism, and consciousness along with it, sinks to low ebb when there is no stimulus from the environment; it rises to high activity when the environment gives keen stimulus. The form to activity which the sociologist studies is that which comes in response to stimulus from other persons. The entire theory of sociology may be, and to some extent must be, built up on this metabolic basis of stimulus and response.

Mention may be made here of habit, suggestibility, and imitation. Like mild but ever present stimuli they are important in society by determining action when there is no definite stimulus to the contrary. They cause the members of a society to think and act together without compulsion, thus laying the foundation for the principles of social organization, which are to be analyzed in Part II to follow.

But although action ordinarily awaits stimulus from the environment, it does not necessarily do so. There is such a thing as stimulus from within. This is best seen in the

child. When the time comes for customary activity, say after a period of rest, if no stimulus comes from the environment, then restlessness sets in; the child goes out, as it were, to seek stimulus, and usually succeeds in finding it. The same principle holds with people of every age everywhere. There is always something to do. With the poor that something first of all is toil for subsistence. But the rich work just as hard, the difference being that they have more choice about what kind of work they will do. The rich man toils to win in the game of finance, not so much because he wants more money to spend, as because he has energy which he must expend. For the same reason the rich man's wife assumes a burden of dressing herself, and adorning her home, and entertaining, and calling, which is just as exhausting in its way as the toil of her sister in poverty. Persons of an aggressive disposition manage to get into some kind of conflict — a war, a political fight, industrial competition, social rivalry, or a neighborhood feud. One cause of the Crusades was the monotony of medieval village life which made the young men restless and ready for adventurous expeditions, while their neighbors who loved quiet had plenty of reason to encourage their going. When there are no real contests at hand, artificial ones come in the form of games and sports — tournament, football, or debating league. Mothers and teachers know well enough how all of this applies to children. Those who are preparing to be teachers need to have their attention called to it.

In a certain college the students had a great tendency to go out after the hour when they were expected to be in their rooms. With only their studies to enlist their interest inside, they very naturally found interesting things outside. Then the college officials thought best to organize clubs and societies which could be directed in part by members of the faculty. After that the mischief-making diminished.

This much, at least, has been learned, that desire is the all-pervading, world-animating principle, the universal *nisus* and pulse of nature, the

mainspring of all action, and the life-power of the world. It is organic force. Its multiple forms, like the many forces of the physical world, are the varied expressions of one universal force. . . .

. . . Crime may be prevented by broadening the mind of the criminal with knowledge that he can never make any direct use of. . . . — L. F. Ward, *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, pp. 55, 203.

The aim should be to develop positive rather than negative morality, the presence of actual good works rather than the absence of wrong-doing. It is better for the school to teach a boy to earn money honestly than merely not to steal; better to teach him to plant a school garden and tend it than merely not to cut his initials in his desk; better to teach him to help younger children with their work and play than merely not to tease them. It is what the school gets boys and girls to do, not what it keeps them from doing, that counts most for morality. — Thorndike, *Education*, pp. 29, 30.

The simplest theory of play is the Schiller-Spencer surplus energy theory of play. According to this theory, animals play in order to get rid of the energy they have left over after they have completed the activities necessary for existence. . . .

If play is nothing more than the expenditure of surplus energy, it might be expected that it would be nothing more than formless activities. But as a matter of fact, playful activities take on very different forms, and these forms are suggestive of their nature and origin. The noticeable thing about them is that they resemble certain instinctive activities. Thus the plays of the boy seem to reveal the presence in him of the hunting and combative or pugnacious instincts, while the little girl playing with her dolls reveals . . . the maternal instinct. . . . — Parmelee, *Science of Human Behavior*, pp. 248–250.

Interests are the stuff that men are made of. More accurately expressed, the last elements to which we can reduce the actions of human beings are the units which we may conveniently name "interests" . . .

. . . Human interests, then, are the ultimate terms of calculation in sociology. *The whole life-process, so far as we know it, whether viewed in its individual or in its social phase, is at last the process of developing, adjusting, and satisfying interests.* — Small, *General Sociology*, pp. 426, 433, 434.

That a maximal degree of efficiency in any line of work is inconsistent with gloom and depression is not only a common verdict of general experience, but a logical inference from scientific principles. It is a well-

established law of psychology that a state of mind which is predominantly "pleasant" in its affective coloring is always accompanied by certain well-defined physiological phenomena: (1) an increase in the volume of the body, due to a distention of the capillaries running underneath the skin; (2) deeper breathing; (3) increased rate of pulse beat; and (4) increased muscular energy. A state of mind which is "unpleasantly" toned, on the other hand, is accompanied by bodily phenomena of the opposite character: decrease in bodily volume, lighter breathing, decreased rate of pulse beat, and decreased muscular energy.

The relation of these factors to efficiency is obvious. Hope and buoyancy simply mean, other things equal, a favorable condition for good work of any sort, while gloom and depression must, by the same token, form a heavy handicap in any line of endeavor. The old proverb, "Nothing succeeds like success," is thus seen to be, like so many other proverbs, a profound psychological law. The glow of satisfaction that comes from the consciousness of work well done sets free the energy that can be concentrated upon the new and more difficult task, thus multiplying the chances for a fresh triumph. And the sickening sense of failure will similarly choke up the channels of energy and multiply the chances for a second defeat. The man who, in the face of this handicap, can pluck success out of failure and victory out of defeat is the rarest of heroes.

It is needless to say that cheerfulness and encouragement should be the keynotes of instruction. . . . — Bagley, *The Educative Process*, pp. 344, 345.

Inborn Tendencies

As the selections above from Parmelee and Small suggest, life is not merely action in general. All living matter is predisposed to specific kinds of activity. There is first and always as a background to all other kinds of activity the action necessary to protect and maintain the life process. The specific kinds are provided for in the structure of the body, and, with animals, in the structure of the nervous system, so that certain reflexes, instincts, and desires come untaught when the proper conditions exist. The study of the predispositions in man belongs to biology and psychology, especially the latter. James, for example, named twenty-eight special human instincts, with nine subordinate varieties. The

following statement is in the concluding note of his chapter on instinct:

> Some will, of course, find the list too large, others too small. With the boundaries of instinct fading into reflex action below, and into acquired habit or suggested activity above, it is likely that there will always be controversy about just what to include under the class-name. — James, *Psychology*, Vol. II, p. 440.

Obviously, therefore, while sociology must take its data on human nature largely from psychology, it must simplify and arrange in its own way whatever it takes. In the following account five inborn tendencies to activity are selected for notice as factors of society. No claim is made that these are simple tendencies; on the other hand, some of them are confessedly complex; but their analysis does not belong to sociology. The most deep-seated of these tendencies are those which are necessary to self-preservation. All of them contribute to that, in a way, but some more directly than others.

1. *Material "Wants"*

For the preservation of the individual the great needs are for food and shelter from the elements; shelter means clothing as well as a habitation. Man's want for these things impels him to "get a living." It starts the organization of societies in the form of industrial and business enterprises. It develops a system of exchange of goods for goods and of goods for services, with some one commodity to serve as a medium of exchange and a measure of values. The scientific study of this phase of human activity is the special province of political economy or economics; but here again sociology must select and interpret in its own way.

2. *The Family Instincts*

For the preservation of the species there must be reproduction. With mammals, and also with many lower forms of

life, this is provided for by the sex instinct. This instinct, when supplemented by parental love, gives rise to that most ancient and unchanging and omnipresent form of society — the family. Of all the crude impulses of the brute which civilization must tame, the sex instinct is the one which causes the most trouble.

Reduced to their lowest terms, which still show large overlapping spheres of influence, the comprehensive and absorbing situations become "play," "food," and "family." In terms of the instinctive habits primitive man may be defined as a playing, feeding, family-bred-and-breeding animal. — Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, p. 129.

In the beginning were interests.

The primary interest of every man, as of every animal, is in sheer keeping alive.

. . . In this group the sex-interest is usually made coördinate with the food-interest, and it is doubtful if there is a third approaching these in importance. I venture to call all the other positive types of bodily interest by the general name the *work-interests*. Whether this is a good designation or not, I mean by it all the impulses to physical prowess and skill, that vary from the pranks of childhood to systematized trial of skill among athletes. The three species of interest which I call food, sex, and work make up one genus of human interests, to which I give the name the *health-interest*. By this I mean all the human desires that have their center in exercise and enjoyment of the powers of the body. — Small, *General Sociology*, pp. 196, 197.

Family life developed two other inborn tendencies which play a large part in society, namely, gregariousness and kindness. Most psychologists class them as instincts, or combinations of instincts.

3. *Gregariousness*

This is the tendency of animals of a given species to keep together, as in herds of cattle, flocks of birds, schools of fishes, swarms of insects. These, however, are only the extreme forms of it; it runs in some degree through all grades of animal and vegetable life. It is in fact necessary to life of any kind as we know it. Life exists only in individuals,

and each of these exists for only a limited period; each individual is born, lives his period, and dies.

By turns we catch the vital breath, and die. — Pope, *Essay on Man*, Epistle III.

But life comes only from life; *omne vivum e vivo*, is the old phrase of the biologists. Every individual has parents, and in the ordinary course of things will have offspring. The result is that if a given species is found in a given locality at all, it is usually found in as large numbers as the locality can support. Accordingly, the individuals must be able to get along with their kind as well as with their natural environment, and they just as much become adapted to depending on their kind. Many species depend on group activity to get their food, rear their young, and protect themselves. Each animal is guided by instinct to those forms of associating with its kind which are necessary for its habitat. It may have no foresight in the matter; it merely feels uneasy when alone all the time, and is content when in company. The lion, for example, hunts alone, but rests in his den with mate and young. The wolf, on the other hand, hunts with the pack. The proposition, therefore, holds that life is fundamentally social, though in varying degrees and with partial exceptions. When Aristotle wrote that "man is a social animal," he was stating a principle of broader scope than he probably thought.

One summer a single sprout of corn came up in my garden. It grew into a fine stalk with two large ears, but produced only a few kernels. I have also found that a single row of corn does not produce well. Corn must be massed in a field to be at its best.

So of human beings. The German proverb, *Ein Mensch ist kein Mensch*, "One man is no man," is literally true as far as mental development is concerned. Man becomes properly man only in connection with his fellows. Teachers

and parents sometimes get out of patience with the propensity of children to watch one another, study together, follow a crowd, or go off in troops to play; also with their reluctance to stay alone or work independently. But such impatience should be held in restraint with the thought that this social propensity has been bred into children from the foundation of the world, and can be overcome, where necessary, only by much discipline. In this matter as in many others, the conditions of modern life make requirements that are contrary to man's original nature.

No creature is so gregarious as man, and we can hardly conceive him except as a member of the family and emerging, as the boy and girl now do, to become a *socius* in tribe, society, or political and industrial communities. — Hall, *Adolescence*, Vol. II, p. 363.

. . . Assertion of personality in distinction from other personality and exchange of recognitions of personal valuation, are as proper incidents of human satisfaction as supply of the bodily demand for food and air. — Small, *General Sociology*, p. 461.

4. *Kindness*

The adjective *kind* is derived from the nouns *kind* and *kin*, probably meaning originally the behavior proper toward one's relatives. Kindness to one's fellows is a necessary factor in gregariousness. It, too, must have grown out of family life, especially the mother's care for her offspring. Thorndike uses the title, "motherly behavior and kindliness," though without restricting it to mothers:

Modern philanthropy and acceptance of the brotherhood of man as a living creed rests at bottom on the original tendency, strongest by far in women, to hold, cuddle, enjoy the welfare of, and relieve the distress of, young and helpless human beings; and upon a more diffused original kindliness toward all human kind. . . .

Boys and men are not by nature entirely lacking in mothering behavior as traditional opinions declare. To give a little child food, to smile sympathetically at its play, and to drive off its enemies are perhaps as instinctive in the boy or man as the tendencies to clasp and fondle it are in woman.

The more diffuse kindliness, sympathy or pity consists, in the first place, of attentiveness to a human being manifestly hungry, frightened or in pain, and active measures to relieve him. In the second place it is a positive satisfaction at, and approval of, happy or contented behavior in other men. — Thorndike, *Education*, 84, 85.

James discussed this subject under the title of "Sympathy":

Some forms of sympathy, that of a mother with child, for example, are surely primitive, and not intelligent forecasts of board and lodging and other support to be reaped in old age. Danger to the child blindly and instantaneously stimulates the mother to actions of alarm or defense. Menace or harm to the adult beloved or friend excites us in a corresponding way, often against all the dictates of prudence. It is true that sympathy does not necessarily follow from the mere fact of gregariousness. Cattle do not help a wounded comrade; on the contrary they are more likely to dispatch him. But a dog will lick another sick dog, and even bring him food; and the sympathy of monkeys is proved by many observations to be strong. In man, then, we may lay it down that the sight of suffering or danger to others is a direct exciter of interest and an immediate stimulus, if no complication hinders, to acts of relief. — James, *Psychology*, Vol. II, pp. 410, 411.

5. *Capacity for Intelligence*

So far in this chapter attention has been confined to the qualities which man possesses in common with beings of lower orders than himself, and which they often possess in equal degree with himself. These qualities have been noticed here because they are primitive, strong, ineradicable; they make the warp of human society. What then are the distinctly human qualities which make the woof of society?

The quality which more than any other puts man in a class by himself, apart from all the rest of the animal kingdom, is associative memory: man can relate his experiences and so become intelligent; he can form concepts. These higher mental qualities, according to the physiological psychologists, have their seat in the cerebrum or fore-brain.

For example, the average brain weight of a man's brain in European races is 1360 grams, and that of a woman's brain of the same races is 1211 grams, while the average brain weight of the great anthropoid apes (gorilla, chimpanzee, and orang-utan) is only 360 grams. Thus in the orang-utan the brain represents only one half of one per cent of the body-weight, while in European man the proportion is at least three per cent. — Parmelee, *Science of Human Behavior*, pp. 172, 173.

The ratio of cerebral weights would be much greater than the ratio of total brain weights, because the size of the cerebrum in lower animals approaches noticeably nearer to that of the cerebellum and the medulla than in man. This larger cerebrum, with the intelligence accompanying it, is thought to have caused the development of the other distinctive features of man's anatomy: the more prominent forehead and chin, the less prominent jaws and teeth, the adaptation of the anterior limbs for manipulation rather than locomotion, and the double curvature of the spine which the erect posture requires. Another result is the lengthened period of infancy. With capacity to remember and relate experiences, comes a need for time to have experience and to develop out of it a system of habits suited to the environment. Bodily growth is slow; the nervous system remains plastic for many years; there is large capacity for education.

Some psychologists recognize a special instinct of curiosity which seeks for what is behind; objects are not merely mirrored in the mind; the mind seeks to represent the invisible relations between objects. Science, accordingly, has to recognize the existence of two worlds, the outer or objective world of things and the inner or subjective world of ideas in each person's mind. Each mind is constantly striving to make this inner world more satisfactory to itself. The profound differences between persons are in the way they construct this inner world; it is on these differences that the most important groupings of people are based.

The specific form of activity, then, to which the "urge

and drive of life" impels man is that of the intellect. Intellect, combined with gregariousness, gives rise to communication — the subject of the next chapter.

. . . A man is not at his best until he is able to think all that he does, and to follow all his conditions and actions with intellectual comprehension. — Small, *General Sociology*, p. 462.

His mind abhors a vacuum. Novel experiences are to him their own sufficient reward.

Not only sensing things, but also appreciating the connection of events, is intrinsically satisfying to man. A child likes not only to hear a whistle, but also to find the noise coming whenever he blows it. He likes to see a ball roll across the floor, but even more to have it roll after his act of throwing. "Tumbling blocks" are a delight; but "blocks tumbling after a push" are an added delight. . . .

We may call it instinct of "Pleasure at being a cause," or of "Mental control." More exactly it is the satisfyingness of the exercise of connections in the brain whereby doing something makes something happen.

Now this tendency for the exercise of the connecting or learning or habit forming powers of man to be satisfying to him is of wide-spread influence. As soon as man gets the ability to have ideas and plans, he enjoys getting one idea from another, making a plan and having a result from it, and countless other cases of *thinking something — getting some result therefrom.* When a man has acquired the powers of intellect or skill it is often as instinctive or "natural" for him to enjoy their unforced exercise as to enjoy food, sleep, or conquest. Other things being equal, mental activity is satisfying in and of itself. — Thorndike, *Education*, pp. 77, 78.

There is nothing in existence which man does not try to master, but it is his fellow man whom he tries most persistently to master.

> The proper study of mankind is man. . . .
> The glory, jest, and riddle of the world!
>
> — Pope, *Essay on Man*, Epistle II.

When two strangers meet each tries to understand the other — to see through him, "take his measure," learn "how to take him," — all for the purpose of exercising control over

him if possible, or if that seems out of the question, then of extorting recognition of superiority in some particular quality; each seeks to establish for himself some assured position in the mind of the other. The instinct of control has as its necessary correlate the instinct of submission, for if every man would die rather than yield recognition to another, there would be no control and no society.

There is by original nature, a complex interplay of activities between one human being and another with whom he has to do, whereby, as a resulting stable equilibrium, one has the attitude of mastery and the other of submission. Such crude determinants of superiority and inferiority, of who shall command and who obey, are of course greatly modified by early training, yet they remain, beneath more rational and humane habits, to perplex the gentle, handicap the modest and peaceful, and make the maintenance of order in the school-room an art wherein the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove must often simulate the tiger's fearless readiness to attack. — Thorndike, *Education*, pp. 80–82.

On this subject Wallas speaks of —

. . . the two instincts which Mr. McDougall calls negative and positive "self-feeling," but which I prefer to call the conflicting instincts (both of them being necessary in a gregarious or semi-gregarious society) to "give a lead" to others, and "to take a lead" from others. — Wallas, *The Great Society*, pp. 32, 33.

Out of this meeting between two persons a great variety of adjustments is possible, some of which the psychologists attribute to special instincts. There is display, attention-getting, self-assertion; hunting, pugnacity, anger, elation, teasing, bullying, scorn, cruelty; there is shyness, secretiveness, self-abasement, submission, envy. McDougall, in his *Social Psychology*, gives a list of seven instincts and their corresponding emotions; three of them are merely forms of control or submission, and three others mean just that when applied to persons. Thorndike has, in his *Education*, and also in Volume I of *Educational Psychology*, a chapter on the "Social

Instincts." Five of the varieties of instinctive action which he describes might be classed as forms of control or submission. But it should not be necessary for the sociologists to follow the psychologists into these analyses, at least until the psychologists come to more agreement among themselves.

The result of all this flux is that the merely descriptive literature of the emotions is one of the most tedious parts of psychology. . . . I should as lief read verbal descriptions of the shapes of the rocks on a New Hampshire farm. — James, *Psychology*, Vol. II, p. 448.

It may seem that more attention should be given to the emotions at this point. But since emotion is only a feeling accompaniment, the sociologist is not much interested in the varieties of it, however important they may be in the life of the individual. Emotion interests the sociologist through the varieties of action with which emotion of some kind comes, because it is through the feelings that a population becomes psychically welded so as to be capable of energetic mass movement.

Emotion applies the spur to the mental gait; it is an obstruction-meeting device reserved not for the run but for the jump in the hurdle-race of life. — Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, p. 109.

Maturing

Some of the instincts and inborn capacities are not ready to function at birth: they have to grow with the growth of the body. The clearest example of this kind is the sex instinct. In normal children there is little trace of it for ten or a dozen years. Girls arrive at puberty at about the age of thirteen and boys at fourteen, though with a range of several years in either direction. Gregariousness develops slowly, with different phases at different times. The most distinctive phase comes just before puberty, from ten to thirteen, when children develop the "gang" spirit which will be discussed in Chapter V. Mental power, with control over the self and

over the environment, grows even more gradually, changing as other capacities mature. It probably does not come to its highest and purest development until after middle life when physical strength begins to fail. The variation in the rate of development, especially in mental power, causes some children in a school to be "retarded" and so to fall out of step with their grade.

One of the most delicate functions of the school is to provide the right stimuli at the right time in the development of each child. Although the instincts are inborn and have their basis in the nervous system, yet they come into action only in response to stimuli. The body, for example, may need food, and the digestive organs be in condition to take care of it, yet there may be no thought of eating until something occurs to suggest it, say the presence of food, or the ringing of the customary dinner bell. The presence of food may arouse the appetite to eat when the body does not need it and would be injured by it. The sex instinct comes at puberty, ready to be called into action by stimulus. Stimulus may cause it to develop earlier than it would otherwise come, and may give it an abnormal growth that will injure health and interfere with the growth of other capacities. These two primitive instincts need no special fostering in normal individuals; they are strong enough by nature. But they do need much wise guidance; the task of education is to control and refine them — to "sublimate" them into sentiments which elevate social life and give greater enjoyment than indulgence in the mere brute appetite can do.

The higher mental capacities, however, being later acquisitions in race history, are in need of stimulus for their development; they also lend themselves more readily to modification by training. Without proper stimulus at the right time in early life they may not develop at all; without wise direction at the right time they may grow into harmful rather than useful qualities. Unless the boy of eight has a chance to make

money and learn by experience the advantage of looking ahead before spending it, he may be a spendthrift all his life. The instinct of mastery in a boy of fourteen will become the basis of good manners if he is shown that politeness wins; otherwise it may make him a boor all his life. Since the higher instincts adapt the individual to his environment, it is important that the environment of young persons should approach the ideal type so that each individual, when mature, will help to constitute that kind of environment for everybody.

For we cannot in St. Paul's sense "mortify" our dispositions. If they are not stimulated, they do not therefore die, nor is the human being what he would be if they had never existed. If we leave unstimulated, or, to use a shorter term, if we "baulk" any one of our main dispositions, Curiosity, Property, Trial and Error, Sex, and the rest, we produce in ourselves a state of nervous strain. It may be desirable in any particular case of conduct that we should do so, but we ought to know what we are doing.

The baulking of each disposition produces its own type of strain; but the distinctions between the types are, so far, unnamed and unrecognized, and a trained psychologist would do a real service to civilized life if he would carefully observe and describe them.

One peculiarity of the state of "baulked disposition" is that it is extremely difficult for the sufferer to find his own way out of it. The stimulus must come from outside. — Wallas, *The Great Society*, pp. 64, 65.

Our primary asset is the undeniable fact that the boy wants to be a man more than he wants anything else in the world. It is a mania with him sometimes, and most of his vices are to be interpreted in the light of it. The imitated swagger and bluster, the awkward attempts at profanity, the early experiments with cigarette and cigar, are not due to any inherent liking for these things, or to a depraved taste, but simply to the overpowering hankering after manhood's estate and the man's characteristics. — Fiske, *Boy Life and Self Government*, pp. 33, 34.

Whatever theory may be called upon to explain the origin of instinct, however, there can be no doubt that a large number of animals are entirely dependent upon instinctive reactions for adjustment to the environment. Reaction with them is purely mechanical, the same stimulus

or combination of the stimuli uniformly giving rise to the same adjustment. Such animals are not able to apply experience to the improvement of adjustment, and are consequently not amenable to the influences of education. At just what point in the animal series the lower limit of educability is to be placed is still a matter of dispute, but it is generally conceded that the mammals, the birds, and at least some of the fishes, are able to profit by experience in varying degrees, while the invertebrates and the primitive protozoa probably lack this capacity. . . . In general, then, it may be concluded that educability, meaning by that term the capacity to profit by individual experience, is limited to the vertebrates (and possibly the highly organized invertebrates), and is most pronounced in man and his nearest relatives in the animal kingdom, — the lemurs, monkeys, and anthropoid apes, — together with the animals that man has been able to train for his own service, particularly the horse, the dog, and the elephant.

But while man shares with some of the higher vertebrates the capacity for education, there is one point in which his position is practically unique. Man must be subjected to an educative process before he can complete his development, and this is true in like degree of none of the lower orders. In one sense it is not so much the *capacity for* education as the *necessity of* education that differentiates man from the lower animals.

The moment that the moth emerges from its pupa stage it assumes all the functions of an adult member of its species. It does not have to be taught where and how to procure its food; it does not have to be taught where and how to secure shelter or protection against the elements. . . . Two essential points are to be noted in this connection: — the moth can develop into a mature insect without the presence or aid of other insects; furthermore, it can develop into just as good a moth as either of its parents. Man, on the other hand, comes into the world immature; only a very few of the functions of complete development are present at birth. Certain functions, as, for example, nutrition, are operative from the first, and these are based entirely upon instinct. . . . But the instincts that are operative in the infant are obviously much less efficient than those of the lower forms. Even possessing them the infant is a helpless and dependent creature.

. . . But the infant, even if he could reach maturity without the aid of other human beings, would certainly not be so good a man as his father. What he would lack are the great essentials of human life that are transmitted, not directly through the germ cell, but indirectly by social contact, — culture, "education," and civilized habits. . . . — Bagley, *The Educative Process*, pp. 6–9.

Variations in Human Nature

Though all human beings are constituted on the same general plan, every instinct mentioned in the foregoing pages being present in every normal person, nevertheless persons differ. For example, that manifestation of the instinct of mastery which is usually called pugnacity may, in a given boy, differ in several respects from the same manifestation in another boy or in the average of boys. A stronger stimulus may be required to call it into action. The response may be slower in coming, and last longer. It may be stronger, summoning into action more of his powers and more rigidly inhibiting response to any different stimulus. The accompanying emotion of anger may at the same time be little in evidence, being subordinated to the cool purpose of beating the antagonist. Or the variation from the average may be just the opposite in any or all of these respects. When we think that the same scale of variations can be applied to every innate tendency and conscious activity, and then to each of the derived feelings and emotions, and then to the capacity for refining the emotions into sentiments, and then to the intellectual and volitional activities that accompany each feeling, we begin to see the varieties of which human nature is capable.

It is easily seen that there are two aspects of this subject, the individual and the national or racial. Both are elaborated endlessly in neighborhood gossip, meetings of teachers or parents, biographical writings, fiction, and history. As psychological and sociological problems, however, these two aspects are essentially the same.

Unfortunately, there is up to this time no generally accepted classification of these varieties of human nature, and many persons deny that such a classification is possible. Even in the classification of children that are subnormal — and they have received more attention from experts than

any others — there is still no generally accepted system and no common terminology. But some standard method of describing individual variations is one of the needs of education. How must this appear to a physician? It should be as possible and desirable to have a technical terminology for the qualities by which people live as for the ailments by which they die. When a teacher wishes to report a pupil she needs accurate and well-understood terms in which to describe him. When the description is for a prospective employer, an employment bureau, or a teachers' agency, then it is useful only in proportion as the terms used are both definite and commonly used.

In my normal school the teachers were at one time required to hand in to the office every year characterizations of the members of the senior class. These characterizations were then compiled for use by the president in recommending graduates of the school for positions or for inspection by superintendents who came to select teachers. Now it certainly was our business as members of the faculty to understand the students in our classes and know their characteristics, particularly as affecting their probable fitness to become teachers. But the terms we used in writing these characterizations were as untechnical as those used in a village grocery to describe candidates for the office of sheriff. We had no common standard and no generally accepted terminology. Each of us hit off the characteristics in any phrase that suited his fancy: "A nice girl but a poor scholar"; "Able but has a bad attitude"; "All wool and a yard wide." The best characterizations were those giving concrete facts, which means that we had no general terms in which to describe personality: we could best tell what we meant by giving illustrations.

. . . Children differ so radically in capacities, desires, interests, and needs that what is an excellent opportunity for one is no opportunity at all for another. *Equal opportunity for all must cease to mean the same curriculum for all.* . . . — Johnston, *The Modern High School*, p. 170, Josselyn.

What we may call the New Era in education means just this — that we are becoming concerned with the great variety of mental capacities and with the greater varieties of combinations of these traits found in our students. In classroom work and also in extra classroom activities of the school we are rapidly working out a high school system of adminis-

tration and teaching which is reaching and directing the individualities of boys and girls, their emotions as well as their intellects. The elective system, systems of high school advisers — "vocational guidance," "moral guidance," "educational guidance," and all such new and significant terms in high school administration but indicate how near this vital problem we are coming. — *School and Home Education*, Vol. 33, p. 206, Johnston.

To know more of the ways of conducting human affairs we must have more knowledge of the varieties of human nature, and there is no more opportune time for securing this information than during the years of childhood before life's duties and obligations make their impress on mind and character and render difficult the task of deciphering the natural from the acquired. — *Educational Review*, Vol. 33, p. 270, D. P. MacMillan, "Types of Children."

. . . First, in all grades girls do better than boys in oral reading. . . .

The results show that children of American born parents are superior in achievement during the first three grades and from that point on follow the average very closely. The fact that the American child is not handicapped by unfamiliarity with the English language gives him a slight advantage during the first few years. Italian pupils are seriously handicapped. The sections of the city in which these pupils live are such that factors other than mere lack of English in the homes are probably to be recognized as contributing to the low rank of these pupils.

The children in Jewish schools are distinctly ahead of the average Cleveland pupils. In spite of the fact that they are often surrounded by poor economic conditions and that they often use a foreign tongue, these children seem able to rise above their handicaps better than any other nationality under similar conditions. Poles and Bohemians make slow progress during the first year, follow the average closely for the next four, and then drop below the average during the last three years. . . . — Judd, *Measuring the Work of the Public Schools*, pp. 139–144, 147.

Up to the end of the nineteenth century, the only well-known classification was that of the four temperaments made by the ancient Greeks: sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholic, and some writers still consider this as good as any. Jastrow gives a "revised version" of it, "serviceable as a psychological clew."[1] Ross[2] presents four schemes of

[1] Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, pp. 255–263.
[2] Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 297–309.

classification by as many different writers. This subject obviously belongs to physiology and psychology, and the sociologists must await the verdict of those branches of science. The sociologists, however, are at liberty to make their own needs known and to criticize the verdict when it is rendered. There is some disposition to set apart a special branch of psychology to be known as individual, differential, or variational psychology. Thorndike pronounces against the possibility of any classification that will be practically useful, because a concrete example of a particular type is rare, the persons who approximate it shading off imperceptibly into other types. This, however, though a serious objection, would not seem to be conclusive. It is useful to have names for colors even though pure colors are rarely seen. We may, therefore, still hope for a workable plan by which teachers may study individual differences and describe them when they are found.

. . . There is the child who excels in dealing with abstract idea. He usually has power also in dealing with the concrete, but his chief interest is in the abstract. He is the one who does splendid work in mathematics, formal grammar, the abstract phases of the sciences. Then there is the child who is a thinker too, but his best work is done when he is dealing with a concrete situation. Unusual or involved applications of principles disturb him. So long as his work is couched in terms of the concrete, he can succeed, but if that is replaced by the x, y, z elements, he is prone to fail. There is another type of child — the one who has the executive ability, the child of action. True, he thinks, too, but his forte is in control of people and of things. He is the one who manages the athletic team, runs the school paper, takes charge of the elections, and so on. For principles to be grasped he must be able to put them into practice. The fourth type is the feeling type, the child who excels in appreciative power. . . . — Strayer and Norsworthy, *How to Teach*, p. 163.

. . . Roughly speaking, the mental tests now available for use with school children are of two sorts: first, those which aim to determine with some precision the presence or the absence or the amount of some

specific mental characteristic, *e.g.* tests of memory-span, of quickness of learning, of pitch discrimination, of color-blindness, etc.; secondly, those which aim to determine with perhaps somewhat less precision the general status of the child's intelligence, his mental level or general all-round ability as related to that of other children of the same nationality, sex, age, and social status. . . .

. . . There is no school system of any size that does not contain dozens and scores of pupils who present special psychological problems. Examples are: pupils that cannot learn to spell, pupils that have special difficulty in committing to memory, pupils that are slow in acquiring the technique of reading, pupils that display exceptional gifts in special lines of work, pupils that seem to be tone-deaf, pupils that present peculiar and seemingly inexplicable resistance to disciplinary control, pupils that exhibit speech disorders developed from compulsory right-handedness. In fine, the painstaking scrutiny and intensive study of all individuals that exhibit striking peculiarities in their mental equipment is a form of educational research that is greatly to be desired, that some of our best-equipped school systems could readily afford, and that demands for its prosecution the application by an expert of numerous special forms of mental tests.

Tests of the second sort — test-systems designed to measure general intellectual status — have come into considerable prominence in the past decade through the interest developed by the Binet-Simon tests. These tests were first proposed in 1905 by the eminent French psychologist, Alfred Binet, and his collaborator, the physician, Dr. Simon, in response to an inquiry as to what devices might be used to segregate, for placing in special classes, pupils too defective mentally to profit by instruction in regular classes. This preliminary statement was replaced in 1908 by a more systematic formulation and this 1908 series was again replaced three years later by what is known as the 1911 revision. The extraordinary cleverness with which they were devised, the novelty of the principles they embodied, and their surprisingly satisfactory outcome from the school man's point of view, all conspired to focus upon these tests the active attention of psychologists and educators in all civilized countries. . . .

. . . Eventually, we shall undoubtedly seek to develop in all school systems at least four groups: the gifted group, the regular group, the slow group, and the group of moderately defective mentality. A fifth group — the mental defectives whose insufficiency is marked — will be relegated to special custodial institutions. . . . — National Society for the Study of Education, *Fifteenth Yearbook*, Part I, pp. 149, 150, 154, G. M. Whipple.

. . . As a matter of fact, equalizing training *increases* the differences. The superior man becomes more superior, the inferior is left further behind than ever. A common occurrence in school administration bears out this conclusion reached by experimental means. The child who skips a grade is ready at the end of three years to skip again, and the child who fails a grade is likely at the end of three years to fail again. . . . — Strayer and Norsworthy, *How to Teach*, p. 159.

All this is not a school man's fancy. Intelligence tests have been put to the acid test of business efficiency, and they have stood that test. . . . For example, the American Telegraph Company found that by having candidates selected on the basis of psychological tests of their reaction time, discriminating ability, the speed and relevancy of their associations, etc., they could save the tremendous waste of the six months' training necessary under the old method before they were sure the candidate could become an efficient operator.

The courts are using psychological tests in rapidly increasing numbers. . . . The army is calling for the professional help of the psychologist. The initial, voluntary service of a number of psychologists in several training camps during the first eight months of our participation in the war was recognized by the officers in charge as of such value to them in the selection of men for particular places that the War Department has ordered psychological work put into every branch of the service. . . . — Wisconsin State Department of Education, *Educational News Bulletin*, May 1, 1918.

SUMMARY

It appears, therefore, that this subject of human nature, though boundless and inscrutable in some respects, may nevertheless be approached by scientific methods. A human being is a bundle of tendencies to activity. There is at present no accepted classification of these tendencies, much as one is needed, but sociology must give special attention to the tendencies which lead man into relations with his kind. The tendency to seek knowledge, and then to use it for self-control, is the distinctively human quality. The slow maturing of the intelligence, and of other qualities as well, makes man the most educable of all animals. Persons differ in the degree and rate of development of their qualities. Methods are now coming into use for testing the degree of

intelligence, and of other qualities as well, so that persons can be ranked by standards that are as objective as a yardstick.

Topics

1. Give illustrations from another science of the way science (*a*) starts with certain factors — axioms, hypotheses, forces, materials — without inquiring how they came to exist or what their ultimate nature is, and then (*b*) traces the processes and combinations which result from these factors.

2. Describe cases of action by children which you regard as instinctive. How many of the instincts in McDougall or Thorndike can you illustrate in this way?

3. Describe some example from your own experience of stimulation and response in school work. Of a stimulus which operated for a long time.

4. Explain the old classification of persons by temperament. See Baldwin's Dictionary and encyclopedias; Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, pp. 255–258.

5. Explain Giddings' classification of types of mind. Chapter entitled "Ideals of Nations," in his *Democracy and Empire;* article entitled "A Provisional Distribution of the Population of the United States into Psychological Classes," in *Psychological Review*, Vol. 8, p. 337; *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 186–240, especially pp. 236–240.

6. Explain the Binet-Simon tests and report some application of them which you have observed. References below.

7. Write on the blackboard and explain briefly several classifications of types of children: Strayer and Norsworthy, quoted above; O'Shea, *Social Development and Education*, pp. 209–225; Bagley, *School Discipline*, pp. 216–227.

8. Describe the characteristics of the various stocks of immigrants which have come to the United States: English, Irish, Germans, Scandinavians, Italians, Slavs, Hebrews, Magyars, Portuguese, Greeks. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, pp. 3–194; Towne, *Social Problems*, pp. 38–58; other books on immigration. What is the chief characteristic of each race which a teacher should be prepared to utilize in children? See Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, pp. 393–406, 570–573.

9. Race differences. Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society*, pp. 276–310; Brinton, *Races and Peoples*, pp. 51–78; Ferguson, *The Psychology of the Negro*, reviewed in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 22, pp. 680–685.

10. Gregariousness in animals. Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society*, pp. 65–69; Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I, pp. 4–8.

11. Give a review of the literature of mental measurements, intelligence tests, and individual or differential psychology. See the latest bibliographies.

Problems

1. Name several examples of non-social stimuli. What stimuli the nearest like these would be social? What is the relative importance of the two kinds in school life?

2. Are there marked differences between boys and girls in type of mind? Do the differences grow with age? Are they inborn and not cultivated? Consult Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, pp. 366–392.

3. What are the differences between fourth-grade children and fifth-grade?

4. What is the best list or classification of the qualities in human nature which are important for society? If a modified list is agreed on, put it on the blackboard.

References

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 23, pp. 107–116, Groves, "Sociology and the Psycho-Analytic Psychology: an Interpretation of the Freudian Hypothesis." See also Vol. 5, pp. 193–219.

Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, pp. 185–192.

Bagley, *Educational Values*, pp. 3–13; *The Educative Process*, pp. 1–22.

Baldwin's *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology* is a good reference for all of the topics discussed in this chapter.

Betts, *Social Principles of Education*, pp. 133–221.

* Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 283–315, treat this subject under the title, "Social Forces."

Carus, *The Soul of Man*, pp. 47–53.

Conklin, *Heredity and Environment*, pp. 3–78.

* Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order:* pp. 14–44, suggestion; 45–101, sociability; 232–261, hostility; 262–282, emulation; 283–325, leadership.

Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 12–122.

Dolbear, *Matter, Ether and Motion*, pp. 400–402.

Ellwood, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, pp. 51–78, 188–262.

* Ellwood, *Sociology in its Psychological Aspects*, pp. 199–277, three chapters; pp. 212–233 especially valuable. Controversial and therefore difficult for beginners.

Gesell, *The Normal Child and Primary Education;* pp. 8–45, 61–83, especially valuable, though entire volume is pertinent.

Groos, *The Play of Man.*

Hall, *Adolescence*, Vol. II, pp. 363–448.

Harris, *Inequality and Progress*, pp. 14–24.

Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 209–238, 245–252.

* Hollingworth, *Vocational Psychology*, pp. 21–108.

* Hollingworth and Poffenberger, *Applied Psychology*, pp. 1–39.

Holmes, *The Conservation of the Child*, beginning on p. 92, discusses the classification of backward children.

Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, pp. 11–19, comparison of negroes and whites.

Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, the fullest discussion of qualitative differences, though not easy reading. Try, for example, sex differences, pp. 366–375.

Journal of Educational Psychology, from 1912 on, contains many articles on the Binet-Simon tests.

Kirkpatrick, *Fundamentals of Child Study*, pp. 51–63, classification of the instincts.

Lee, *Play in Education*, pp. 5–25, four chapters on play and growth.

Lusk, *The Science of Nutrition*, pp. 17–44, on metabolism.

McMurry, *Conflicting Principles in Teaching*, pp. 223–231.

Mitchell, *Schools and Classes for Exceptional Children*, pp. 73–96.

Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education*: "Adolescence"; "Animal Psychology"; "Child Psychology"; "Culture Epochs"; "Fatigue"; "Growth"; "Habit"; "Imitation"; "Imagination"; "Infancy"; "Instinct"; "Knowledge"; "Motor Processes"; "Physiological Age"; "Play"; "Primitive Peoples"; "Psychological Laboratories"; "Psychology"; "Reaction Experiments"; "Subconscious"; "Suggestion"; "Temperament"; "Characterology"; "Will."

Münsterberg, *Psychology and the Teacher*, Chapter XXII.

* National Society for the Study of Education, *Fifteenth Yearbook*, Part I, pp. 149–160, G. M. Whipple, "The Use of Mental Tests in the School," with bibliography; pp. 11–22, B. T. Baldwin, "A Measuring Scale for Physical Growth and Physiological Age."

O'Shea, *Social Development and Education*, pp. 209–225.

Parker, *Biology and Social Problems*, pp. 1–38.

Parmelee, *The Science of Human Behavior: Biological and Psychological Foundations.* Controversial. Chapters XI–XV are most pertinent, including the treatment of instinct. Pp. 17, 20, 100, and 121 may be useful to a beginner.

Parsons, *Social Rule*, elaborates the "will to power."

Partridge, *Outline of Individual Study*, pp. 227–234, "Pedagogical Aspects of Individuality."

Patrick, *The Psychology of Relaxation.* General treatment in first and last chapters; others treat respectively of play, laughter, profanity, alcohol, and war.

Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 290–327; *Social Psychology*, pp. 11–42, on suggestibility.

School and Society, Vol. 3, pp. 289–295, J. T. McManis, "Individual Differences in the Early Grades."

* Strayer and Norsworthy, *How to Teach*, pp. 13–33, 151–170.

Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence*, Part II, pp. 199–348, is a guide for the use of the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon tests designed for fourteen grades of intelligence, from the child three years of age to "superior adult." Bibliography, pp. 349–358.

Thorndike, *An Introduction to the Theory of Mental and Social Measurements*, pp. 1–60. Published in 1904; very influential.

Thorndike, *Individuality*, in Riverside Educational Monographs.

Thorndike, *Educational Psychology*, Vol. III, pp. 142–388, "Original Differences and Their Causes."

Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, pp. 3–9.

Tyler, *Growth and Education*, pp. 30–37, 104–114.

Wallas, *The Great Society*, pp. 61–68.

Ward, *Pure Sociology*, pp. 41–43.

CHAPTER IV

COMMUNICATION

The only mind that one can know at first hand is his own. Each mind is in a sense a prisoner within the body, and allowed to speak to others only through the messengers of the body — the lips, the face, the form, and gesture. . . . — Betts, *Social Principles of Education*, p. 171.

But man would not have been able to create the enormous intellectual gap between himself and the other animals if he had not also evolved the disposition of Language. By Language, I here mean our inherited inclination to express and to receive ideas by symbols, *i.e.*, not only by speech and writing, but also by drawing and significant gestures. — Wallas, *The Great Society*, p. 51.

. . . Our secret thoughts are no exception: we long to utter them to some one. When we know them, they have already clothed themselves in language of some form, unuttered or expressed. . . . — Scott, *Social Education*, p. 3.

In order to have a social situation, there must, in the first place, be the consciousness of another person or persons. . . . The other person, however, need not be bodily present. The other mind may be present in a poem, a book of science, a symphony, or a report flashed across the wires. We often become more absorbed in a book than we do in most conversations. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 19, p. 20, J. E. Boodin, "The Existence of Social Minds."

In sociology the meaning of communication needs to be broadened somewhat so as to include any process by which one person stimulates another. I see you sitting motionless: you thereby communicate to me an image of patience, or endurance, or perhaps of day-dreaming. I read a page of Homer: some poet who lived three thousand years ago communicates to me through the medium of unknown bards

who transmitted his song orally from one to another for several centuries, then of unnumbered copyists likewise unknown, then of numerous editors, then of generations of paper-makers, printers, and booksellers. The complexity of the process of interstimulation ranges from direct touch — the handshake or kiss, the slap or blow — to the elaborate mechanisms by which we receive the thought of persons who are far removed from us in space or time or both.

"Society is virtually a verbal noun," *an associating*. This phrase, which has been much passed about among sociologists, means that society, the phase of it at least which makes it worthy subject matter for a science, is not a thing merely — a mass of people on a piece of land — but a process of ever changing relations between person and person.

Communication and Individual Development

In the preceding chapter we have seen how person differs from person, more in mental constitution and content than in physical makeup. Therefore, when one mind touches another there is a change in both which may be likened to the chemical reaction between two different elements. Or, to go back to the analogy of the corn, it is only through the oft-renewed cross-fertilization of mind by mind that the fruitage of human thought can develop. A babe suckled by a wolf, as in the myth of Romulus, and reared among brutes like Mowgli in Kipling's *Jungle Book*, might grow to the stature of a man, but he would be only a brute.

It is not necessary, however, to depend on myths altogether to give us examples of what men would be without communication. A week of solitude will give anyone some realization of it; perhaps even twenty-four hours will be enough. Accounts of pioneer life emphasize the hospitality of the pioneers; any human being was welcome, and there was no waiting for introductions.

I know a man who spent a winter alone in a northern lumber camp. After he had been there about three months without seeing a human being, he chanced to speak to himself out loud. He was frightened at the sound of his own voice, for he found that he was forgetting how to talk. He then began to talk to himself, and in that way saved himself from "falling into an abnormal state."

Deaf persons are also mutes unless special care is taken to develop the power of speech or to keep it if already developed; a deaf-mute without special training is little more than an idiot. The case of Helen Keller shows how the mind is awakened when communication is established.

In our neighborhood is a boy who became totally deaf in his fourth year. The deafness resulted from scarlet fever and came on gradually. The doctor told his mother to tell him that after a while he would not be able to hear. His reply was, "Then I'll be like Mr. S. and Mr. J. You'll have to talk real loud, won't you?" The first summer he continued to talk about the things he had already learned to know by name, but after that he gradually forgot these words and resorted to signs. For the past two years he has been going to school to the department for the deaf. At first he was very diffident and did not try to speak at all. Now he talks and reads in school, but still uses signs in communicating with his playmates. He will make gestures and guttural sounds until he attracts their attention; then when they respond his face lights up with pleasure. He delights in jokes, and reads from the expression on the faces of his companions how they take a joke from him.

The reason he does not talk to his playmates but uses signs and gestures instead is partly because they do not talk to him but make their wishes known to him by signs and gestures. Then, too, there are many persons whose movement of the lips he is unable to read.

Solitary persons sometimes talk much to animals, plants, and other natural objects about them, or else "talk to themselves." Really, however, they are carrying on conversation; the second party may not be present in any material form, but only in recollection or imagination. A teacher who was reading to the school from Thoreau stopped to remark, "This nature-lover, when out in the woods, thinks

of civilization." The first or only child in a family often has an imaginary playmate.

Ideal society is a drama enacted exclusively in the imagination. Its personages are all mythical, beginning with that brave protagonist who calls himself I and speaks all the soliloquies. — Santayana, *The Life of Reason*, Vol. II, p. 140.

I have never had an imaginary companion as there were five of us children at home all the time; I had enough real companions without having to imagine any. But one of the girls in the neighborhood was an only child and lived with her mother and grandmother. Her mother was a very quiet little woman who read a great deal, and her grandmother was very old. Her imaginary companion was a girl about two years older whom she called Margaret and described as a very pretty girl with soft golden curls and beautiful blue eyes. This description was almost exactly like that of a character in a series of books which the girl was reading, although the name was different. She would sit for hours talking to Margaret and be perfectly happy. We always thought she was queer, but now I understand the reason for it.

Occasionally a child who has child associates has also an imaginary one. This must be because the real associates do not satisfy; there is craving for communication with a type of personality which is not present in reality, and the imagination is strong enough to supply the lack. In private devotions, when they are fervent, the same cause must be present.

I remember as a child sitting in the parlor alone entertaining myself with an imaginary caller for hours at a time. She was generally a married woman whose husband was a railroad man gone on a trip, and we had come together to talk over family troubles. I used to serve tea to my caller, making up some remarkable recipes. This lady had a definite appearance, my ideal of a pretty woman. I called her Mrs. Rothschild because I wanted her to be wealthy.

Even now that I am grown up I like to be alone. Whenever I am going on a journey or walk alone I usually imagine some one with me. I told this to my teacher in the eighth grade and she laughed at me and said people would think me insane. But I firmly believe my disposition has been helped by this invisible companion; it has made me happier.

When composing a letter I always imagine that the person to whom I am writing is sitting before me. A regular visit, I call it. It often does me as much good as if I had been with my friend a couple of hours. I enjoy letter-writing immensely.

Silent communication may also be carried on in literature. As a child I idealized Longfellow. He was a great large grandfather to me. Whenever I heard or read his poems I could almost feel his big arms about me. In reading a book I prefer one without pictures. I always make up pictures of my own which sometimes "jar" with those printed in the book.

In regard to communication with an imaginary person, I know of a case that is quite unusual. The imaginary had the common name of Mary Jones. Mary's mother was a widow and did sewing for a living; consequently Mary had to work very hard. My friend said she always thought of Mary and her mother as living in a house with two rooms, and she described just how the rooms looked. She said she wasn't conscious of thinking it out; it just existed, and Mary was the same to her as any of her living playmates. She used to go to visit Mary every day. In the summer time this was on the porch, and she used to sit by the hour, appearing to other people to be dreaming, but to herself she was visiting with Mary Jones. In the winter time Mary was visited in a big rocking chair in the parlor; this was Mary's house. The two went to school together. In fact the girl preferred to go with Mary, and so would start off by herself instead of waiting for her sister. She said she never knew just what became of Mary when she met anybody on the way; when she did not meet anyone Mary went with her as far as the school and then seemed to disappear. Though the girl was not conscious of Mary in school they always had the same lessons. They also did their work together. Mary always had to work at pulling out bastings, and the girl helped her so they could play together. In time of distress or anything unusual it was Mary the girl thought of first. For instance there was a possibility at one time of their receiving some money through an inheritance, and as soon as it was mentioned in the family she went to Mary and told her about it; Mary was to have some of the money and then she and her mother would not have to work so hard. The girl planned her doll things with Mary, and she preferred to play with Mary rather than anyone else. Yet she never talked aloud to this companion; the conversation was only in her mind.

Mary was very important in this girl's life from eight years of age till sixteen, and had existed in a less important way for two or three years before that. The imaginary did not seem to prevent the girl

from being sociable, for she played with other children. She preferred, however, to be with Mary rather than with her own sister for her sister was always wanting to do something else while Mary would do the same thing as long as desired. Between the ages of sixteen and eighteen there was a girl chum and Mary became less important, nevertheless Mary continued to be communicated with frequently. But even the chum never knew there was a Mary; nobody ever knew until years afterward. My friend was married at eighteen, and even after that she visited with Mary occasionally. After her first baby was born she never thought of her imaginary for a year. One evening at dusk as she was coming from town she happened to think about Mary. Then she realized that Mary was lost to her.

Adults also sometimes prefer solitary occupations or withdraw from the company of other persons, not for lack of interest in humanity or because they have no need of communication, but because they are too sensitive to endure the asperities of association with all sorts of people. Cooley cites Thoreau as an example of this:

He took to the woods and fields not because he lacked sociability, but precisely because his sensibilities were so keen that he needed to rest and protect them by a peculiar mode of life, and to express them by the indirect and considerate method of literature. No man ever labored more passionately to communicate, to give and receive adequate expression, than he did. — Cooley, *Human Nature and Social Order*, pp. 57, 58.

The quotation he gives from Thoreau shows a further motive as well:

I would fain communicate the wealth of my life to men, would really give them what is most precious in my gift. I would secrete pearls with the shell-fish and lay up honey with the bees for them. I will sift the sunbeams for the public good. . . . — *Ibid.*, p. 58.

This ambition to mature great gifts for humanity has led some of the foremost characters in history to spend a part of their time in solitude. They have retired, not to cut off communication, but the better to frame their own replies.

The social vision itself comes chiefly to the solitary soul, to Moses on the mountain, to Numa by the spring, to Emerson at Walden. Men ascend the hills to see. It is the man at the masthead whose report fixes the course, whose place in the ship's company is most vital. Temporary withdrawal is not a severing, but a fulfillment, of true relationship. . . . . Society and solitude must alternate if temper, sanity, life itself, are to be preserved. . . . — Lee, *Play in Education*, p. 322.

Those of our dispositions, like Craftsmanship or Love, whose normal stimulus is close association with familiar objects, are often confused and tired by our present environment. But other dispositions, like Curiosity and Ambition, find a richer satisfaction than before. When I was once asked by a Norwegian lad in the Romsdal whether he ought to stay and inherit his father's land, shut in, as he complained, "by the mountains, always the mountains," or venture landless into the new world of America or England, I did not dare to tell him to stay. — Wallas, *The Great Society*, pp. 322, 323.

The gregarious instinct is commonly confirmed by habit. The individual is born in a group and grows up in a group. To live with others accentuates the strength of the instinct and expands its manifestation. Solitary confinement is regarded by many as a mode of torture too cruel and unnatural to be longer practiced. For the normal man, to be forced to be alone for any length of time is a matter of the greatest torture. It is practically true that for everyone except a few more or less highly cultivated persons, the primary condition for recreation is that of being one of a crowd. For every person who goes to the mountains for a vacation, there are scores who go to the beaches. The normal, daily recreation of the population of the towns and smaller cities is that of walking up and down the streets where the throng is densest. The normal recreation for rural people on a holiday is that of rushing to the places where the crowds will be found. — Bogardus, *Introduction to Sociology*, p. 263.

The Mechanism of Communication

Professor Cooley, in his chapters on communication,[1] speaks of it as a mechanism. A process must have some kind of medium in which to go on, and the medium through which mind stimulates mind is the system of symbols, partly

[1] Cooley, *Social Organization*, Part II.

natural but mostly conventional. This system of symbols repeats the world of thought, though of course imperfectly, somewhat as the world of thought repeats the world of objective reality. Cooley [1] relates the incident in the life of Helen Keller, how at the belated age of seven she suddenly discovered the world of symbols.

An elaborate classification of the forms of communication may not be worth while, but we may at least recognize two forms, verbal and non-verbal, together with certain complex forms which combine both of these.

Verbal Communication

Of the various forms of communication the spoken word is the one which surpasses all the others in importance. With the conceptual thinking which it presupposes it most distinctly separates man from the lower animals.

. . . Man lives in a world of words. . . . To those who can use words so as to influence the rest of us we give society's great rewards. To the combinations of ideas which have been worked out in words, we owe changes that have later been wrought out in things. . . .

. . . When I utter the word "dog," or hear the sound which comes from uttering that word, the partial or verbal reaction expands instantly into the general bodily attitude appropriate to the experience of seeing a dog. If I am afraid of dogs, the essential part of the experience will be a feeling of violent contraction of my internal muscles and a desire to run. If I am fond of dogs, I shall have a reaching out of all my muscles and a feeling of satisfaction. There may be, and often is, no image in the mind at all. The word is part of a system of behavior rather than part of a series of pictures. The experiences attached to words thus include as important elements the feeling attitudes appropriate to the object. . . . — Judd, *Psychology of High School Subjects*, pp. 161, 147.

. . . Since language represents the physical conditions that have been subjected to the maximum transformation in the interests of social life — physical things which have lost their original quality in becoming social tools — it is appropriate that language should play a large part compared with other appliances. By it we are led to share vicariously in past human experience, thus widening and enriching the experience of the

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 63.

present. We are enabled, symbolically and imaginatively, to anticipate situations. In countless ways, language condenses meanings that record social outcomes and presage social outlooks. So significant is it of a liberal share in what is worth while in life that unlettered and uneducated have become almost synonymous. . . . — Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, pp. 45, 46.

The art of writing distinguishes civilized man from barbarian. The art of printing, by which it is possible to make any desired number of identical copies of a writing, brought civilization within reach of the masses and ushered in the modern world. Within the last century devices for rapid communication to long distances have made all the world one and ushered in a social revolution which is still in progress and the outcome of which we can only dimly foresee. Without writing and communication by electricity, democracy on a large scale would not be possible.

The teaching of the language arts has always been the backbone of the curricula of the schools. After the invention of writing the important subjects to be taught were reading and writing; since the invention of printing the reading of books has outweighed every other.

Thanks to our growing dependence on the vast impersonal organization that goes on far above our heads, reading is taking the place of oral intercourse as a source of ideas. Machinery and shop supervision are squeezing spoken discourse out of the working hours of wage-earners, while the reading habit restricts it in their leisure. Most urban minds feed on newspapers as silk-worms feed on mulberry leaves. Upon the consciousness of multitudes the daily sheet stamps impressions, ideas, and beliefs, just as the Hoe press prints endlessly the same thing upon miles of white paper. — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 22, p. 317, Ross, "The Organization of Thought."

. . . Probably a child in school reads more words in a year than he hears or speaks in all the class exercises which he attends. He becomes, therefore, as we sometimes say vaguely in our general discussions of school activities, eye-minded. He will begin to establish preferences for writing as a means of expressing his own ideas as over against oral speech. As a result, we find that ordinary school training has limited

very greatly the powers of oral expression in most children. Many a child and many an adult finds himself able to work out an idea if he is given a pencil and paper, while he is very far from fluent in oral speech. . . . — Judd, *Psychology of High-School Subjects*, pp. 152, 153.

Last winter one of my letters home failed to reach its destination and my people were worried. But they did not have to wait for letters to come and go; the telephone settled their anxiety in a few minutes. This ease and swiftness of communication holds groups of people together. Several years ago I belonged to a group of teachers. They are now widely scattered, but through letters the common interest is kept alive and we still share each other's ideas.

One of the girls of my childhood group now lives with her parents in a little village. For ten years she has not been much in society and hardly outside of her home town. And yet she is as well posted on what is going on in the world and is as good company as those members of the group who have had the advantage of education in college. The secret of it is that she reads — papers, magazines, and good books. She has a more reflective and thoughtful mind than some who have been rushed along in company with others.

The following example illustrates the enlarged communication which boys desire as they approach puberty; also the enlargement of communication which has come everywhere in recent years; it further shows how this enlargement of communication tends to cause the disintegration of local groups. The writer of the selection grew up in an out-of-the-way region where there were no railroads:

In my early days communication with other gangs was unknown. We were contented with the fun we had playing with the members of our own school. But when the grammar school years came and our baseball team was organized, all of us were eager to get in contact with other teams and compete with them. Arrangements for games were made by mail or horseback, the latter being almost always used because a fast horse overcame space much more readily than the mail which was carried from village to village by stagecoach. Finally the telephone and daily papers entered the community. Then of course it was very easy for the teams to communicate. We would even keep track of the games an opponent played with other teams to get an idea of the practice that was

necessary for us before our next game. The daily paper, especially the Sunday edition, was of great interest to us all.

Then came a strange result. This wider communication operated to disintegrate the small local group. We no longer needed to meet the gang to talk baseball — and that had been a strong factor in keeping up our team; we could stay right at home and the rural mail carrier brought the results of the previous day's games right to our doors. Our manager and best player on the team was the first one to be influenced by the papers. He read about Ty Cobb, Si Young, and other star players, and longed to be one of them. In the spring of 1904 he left us to join a league team. This so weakened our team that we unanimously agreed to give it up, and consequently for a long time our gang had no regular meetings. A team has since been started, but I am certain it will never equal the original team.

Of all the language arts, conversation still holds the foremost place, at least in the education of the young. The following selection illustrates this, and also some of the modern enlargements of communication:

In our cooking club the chief means of communication was conversation, though writing and printing were great helps. We used cookbooks and homemade recipes. Each member had her own cookbook besides a notebook filled with the common recipes which were in use in the neighborhood. A correspondence was carried on with cooking clubs in near-by towns. We learned of still other clubs by letter, and so our correspondence widened. In these various ways interesting information went back and forth as to the most economical and successful ways of making various dainties. At the earliest of our meetings we had our mothers come in and instruct us in regard to the mixing of batter and other fundamentals, also to judge our cooking, for as yet we had no standards by which to know whether anything was good, better, or best.

At one time a woman came to the town and gave lectures on cooking. Hearing of our club (she stayed at the home of one of our members) she came to our meeting one Saturday afternoon and talked and demonstrated for us. After that we occasionally received letters from her inquiring after our success and inclosing some new recipe which she thought we would like.

Telephones were of course in frequent requisition. Every Saturday morning the bell would ring incessantly, and over and over again one would have to answer the question, "What are you going to make to-

day?" Then would follow the inevitable chatter, "Why, so was I, but now maybe I had better try —" and so on until it was sometimes nearly time to start for the afternoon meeting before work was begun.

Non-Verbal Communication

The foregoing selection also illustrates a very important form of non-verbal communication, namely, the demonstration, together with its usual accompaniment, participation. Demonstration and participation are the most vital of all the forms of communication; in fact a specific act of communication is hardly complete until it reaches the stage of participation. The education of the workaday world relies on demonstration and participation almost entirely; the schools use them largely in teaching the manual arts, the natural sciences, and in all elementary education.

Systems of signals that appeal to the sight, or to the hearing through non-verbal sounds, exist in great variety. In a schoolroom of intermediate grade, especially if the teacher's idea of order is to be able to hear a pin drop, children become adepts at silent communication.

The girls I played with sat at the opposite side of the schoolroom. During school hours we sometimes thought of things we wished to do at recess. If we were planning to sew we would motion as if performing the act; if we were to have a game we would run our fingers along the desk to imitate the movements it would require. These gestures were supplemented by facial expression and movement of the lips.

In our baseball team the pitcher and the catcher had from eight to twelve signals for as many different plays. Before we had our signals we played a neighboring team and lost by a score of 5 to 18; six weeks later, with our system of signals, we played the same team and beat them 2 to 0.

Pictures and other art products stand ready to deliver their message whenever anyone present is in a mood to receive it. They, like literature and institutions, are, as Cooley says,

the outside or visible structure of thought. . . . By the aid of this structure the individual is a member not only of a family, a class, and a state,

but of a larger whole reaching back to prehistoric men whose thought has gone to build it up. — Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 64.

The things man has made, but works of fine art above all others, reveal the lives of their makers; they communicate personality.

Personality

In spite of all the arts, our understanding of persons who are distant from us in space or time depends upon our understanding of the persons whom we have met. Personality radiates through bearing, gesture, facial expression, and tone of voice, with subtlety surpassing that of any verbal means of communication.

The chief means of what we may call pre-verbal communication are the expression of the face — especially of the mobile portions about the eyes and mouth — the pitch, inflection, and emotional tone of the voice, and the gestures of the head and limbs. All of these begin in involuntary movements but are capable of becoming voluntary, and are all eagerly practiced and interpreted by children long before they learn to speak. . . . — Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 66.

That which we are, we shall teach, not voluntarily, but involuntarily. . . . Character teaches over our head. . . . — Emerson, *Essays*, "The Over-Soul."

The character of a pupil is shaped by the personality of the teacher and the fellow pupils, by what they are and do, and by what they lead him by imitation to do, more than by anything that is conveyed in language. For that reason there have been no inventions in moral education. Mechanisms may extend the range but they cannot give quality. The processes of this most important part of education are not essentially different from what they were two thousand years ago.

A few weeks after a new teacher came to a school a parent remarked to her little girl about how polite she was getting to be. The child replied that her teacher walked around so politely that she could not help feeling polite, too.

If personality is so strong a factor in education, the segregation of pupils who exhibit objectionable qualities may need more attention than it has yet received; our ideas of personal liberty may have to be revised. Every teacher of experience knows that the work of a class or room is often hindered, and not infrequently demoralized, by the presence of a single pupil. He may be defective in some way — stuttering, feeble-minded, or with some physical deformity: any peculiarity will find imitators.

A child hard of hearing often said "I don't understand," or "What?" when spoken to. Other pupils in the room formed the habit of making the same replies.

I had a boy last year who had been kept in the primary room six years. He could get arithmetic pretty well but he couldn't read at all. He had a habit, when he was corrected for anything, of covering his face with his hands and leering at you from behind them. This habit was communicated to a great many of the boys in the room, and the correction of it was a task for the teachers in the upper grades.

Still worse is the influence of the morally defective.

There was a boy in our school who, although he was among the oldest, never seemed to feel disgraced to be in classes with children in the second and third grades. He would smoke on the school grounds, and disobey the school rules in every possible way. He left school when he was about eighteen, to the great relief of the people of the district.

A new family having four boys moved into our neighborhood. These boys were not liked by the older children because they were so rough and quarrelsome. The usually rough boys became more rough in order to defend themselves; the timid children became more timid.

In 1912 a principal in Brooklyn started a "campaign for segregation of incorrigible pupils in separate disciplinary schools." A circular of inquiry which he sent out "brought forth a harvest of replies telling of instances of depravity among pupils":

It is wrong to ask young teachers, many of them women, to handle these ruffians by moral suasion. I believe there are many worse cases which teachers are ashamed to write about. — *New York Times*, Feb. 26, 1912.

I had charge of a department in which there were several "leftovers," boys with vicious tendencies. Other boys who had previously held good records for study and behavior gradually fell off in both. When the vicious ones, in view of their failure to keep up class work, suggested that they leave school, I did not encourage them to remain. Things went much better after their withdrawal.

. . . Earl, a boy of fourteen, was bent upon disturbance. He broke through the rules at once, and caused confusion and interfered with other children by lawless tricks. There was but one thing to do, to put him out of the room and refuse him the privileges of the school. It was possible in this case to isolate him and give him individual treatment. But he never re-entered the regular class-work. Every system of schools ought to be supplied with rooms and teachers who can deal with special cases, and with smaller special groups. It is unjust to impose such a ruinous burden upon a room-teacher who has the charge of thirty or forty children. It upsets the order and efficiency of the room, worries the teacher to a frazzle, and does the boy himself no good. — McMurry, *Conflicting Principles in Teaching*, pp. 36, 37.

Drama

Out of the influence of personality on mental development comes the importance of drama. Drama is so close an approximation to real life as to have some of its educative power. Children long for experience of life; they also long to express themselves; participation in drama meets both of these longings, at least for all except the most unimaginative. They catch the spirit of the hero in the play, and it may live in them ever after. The ancient Athenians made the theater their most prominent educational agency. The Puritans lost it in their zeal to cut out whatever was pleasure-giving, and we of to-day have only recently set out to recover it.

The moving-picture show gives an inexpensive method of reproducing all that is visible in drama and other exhibits

of personality. It is not doing for drama what printing did for literature, but it is giving the world a new form of drama that is capable of universal diffusion.

When the children in my reading class speak the words supposed to be said by some animal, they not only try to imitate the voice but also the facial expression and attitude of body.

If I tell a story to a second-grade child, it will give him new ideas which he will want to tell again in his own fashion. If I describe an Indian, the child may try to draw a picture of an Indian. When I describe the movements of some animal to the children, they will try to imitate its action and want me to do it too.

Recently a teacher in the M. school told her pupils the story of Agonack and at noon and after school we noticed all the little tots making snow houses and trying to reproduce the life of Agonack.

Motion pictures have intensified alike the need for constructive action and the temptation toward destructive action. The suddenness of their advent, their immediate monopolization by the vaudeville interests, the hugeness of their appeal and their fascination for the unsophisticated and the young, have created many bogies but many real emergencies as well.

President G. Stanley Hall has termed them "perhaps the greatest didactic device since the invention of printing." But compare them with that invention which created a revolution in human life! The printing press carried knowledge and thought to a whole world; but how relatively slow was the process, — no more rapid than the growth of literacy! Compared with printing, the motion-picture goes like lightning; in a decade, it has broken through to the eyes and brains of hundreds of millions of people, of all culture-grades and of every land. — *The Survey*, Vol. 34, p. 315, John Collier, "The School-Keeping of the Motion-Picture Showmen."

Selection of the Medium

These various forms of communication are so many media through which mind touches mind. Like the media which transmit physical energy they are not perfect conductors; they transmit with resistance, so that the message received is not the same as the message sent. The use of the conventional symbols must be learned and reduced to second nature by

practice before they become effective means of expression. Likewise they require interpretation before they yield their meaning. In fact effective expression of inner life through any one of them is a fine art; some persons have more talent for it than others, and some are more appreciative than others. One of the great problems in education is to adjust the form and complexity of communication to the needs of the individual pupil. One of the things a teacher has to learn is that a pupil may be very deficient in using or appreciating the more intricate forms of communication, poetry for instance, or music, and still be effective in thought and action.

The star player on our team had a poor vocabulary, was a poor writer, and could accomplish very little in school. He never passed in the sixth grade before he left. He worked for a year in a hardware store with great success; the proprietor said he never had a better mechanic. Later he became fascinated with cooking. Now he is cooking in a large hotel in a western city. I last heard that he was applying for two patents on inventions he had made.

. . . But many a boy can be taught who is quite unable to learn by himself. It is very painful sometimes to see the hopeless despair with which boys, and good boys too, have got to look upon tasks which only require a little explanation and time. . . . — Thring, *Education and School*, p. 137.

Thring here notes a type of mind which seems unable to work except under stimulus coming directly from persons. Given a book or map to study, or even a picture, or a problem to work out, the response is feeble, the attention is not held, little is accomplished. But given another pupil to work with, or an explanation by the teacher, or a recitation by another pupil, the mind seizes vigorously the results as they come out. In recitation such a person may shine, but fail in written examinations.

For practical purposes it would be convenient to divide all the forms of communication into two classes: one in which the parties see each other and carry on conversation, the

other in which one or both of these conditions is lacking. The former enables the parties to use voice, gesture, facial expression, pantomime, demonstration, and many other devices for making their meaning clear, together with all the subconscious manifestations. If there is misunderstanding, a question can be asked; if one mode of communication fails, another can be tried. But when the parties are not brought into each other's presence, misunderstandings go uncorrected, the attention of the recipient may wander or not even be secured at all. The advantage of the latter method is that the entire message, being prepared in advance, may be made more accurate.

> . . . We do the main body of that intellectual work which depends upon organised communication with our fellows, rather while reading books and letters in studies and at office desks than while hearing and uttering spoken words. . . .
>
> It will be convenient to call this newer type of Thought-Organisation "impersonal." The older "personal" forms of Thought-Organisation in groups and committees and assemblies still, however, survive among us, owing partly to traditional habit, and partly to the more permanent fact that our psychological nature was evolved under conditions of personal intercourse, and that impersonal intercourse leaves some of our powers unused, and, therefore, some of our needs unsatisfied.
>
> Of these older forms of organisation, the simplest and oldest is that which is constituted by a small number of persons — from two to perhaps seven or eight — who meet together for the purpose of sustained oral discussion. This form may be studied at its finest point of development in the dialogues of Plato. . . .
>
> . . . When friends meet together, that which is most valuable, even as intellectual stimulus, may be found in those things, too delicate for our clumsy words . . . and which are absent when a modern thinker sits down alone to review a new book or to test a colleague's experiment; the ripples of laughter, the unuttered kindnesses, the suggestion that the effort of Thought is supremely worth while and its successes supremely delightful, even the occasional silences, unembarrassed and almost unnoticed. . . . — Wallas, *The Great Society*, pp. 241, 242, 247.

Insight into the qualities which enable a pupil to learn by one of these methods better than by the other is very desir-

able in a teacher. The new differential psychology or methods of measuring intelligence will probably in time provide a scientific equipment for doing this. The pupil who makes most progress while digging things out by himself may, like Thoreau, be so sensitive that ordinary conversation overstimulates. Such a pupil is likely to be diffident in the presence of a class, backward in discussion, halting in recitation, and easily confused under questioning. But when the only stimuli are the printed page and the inner compulsion, the mind moves deliberately but steadily over the ground to be covered; there is no hesitation at a difficulty, but a calm, well-planned attack on it. Pupils of this kind, however, are in the minority, and fortunately, too, because there are relatively few suitable vocations for them when they are grown up. The greater number of pupils are of tougher fiber and need the stronger stimulus that comes from personal communication; in the presence of merely a printed page, their powers remain dormant. Perhaps also they need to have someone else set the pace for them; without that they either work by fits or starts, like a machine that needs a balance-wheel, and so can never do a large unit, or else, lacking the inner compulsion, they put forth no effort, especially when confronted by difficulties, and so make progress only when their attention is seized by another person and dragged along from point to point. They are fitted to work in company rather than in solitude. Supervised study enables such pupils to get along in school, but ability to work independently should be developed if possible.

. . . The recitation periods . . . are divided into approximately two equal parts. The first portion consists of the usual type of formal recitation, while the second is a study conference period with the teacher of the subject. The teacher of a subject is present with his pupils, ready to aid by thought-producing suggestions. In the short study conference period, preceding which the recitation sets the "swing of the subject" in the pupils' minds, the student is able, because of a ready *subject attitude*, to use his intellectual powers promptly and economically. . . .

. . . This plan carried out in details at Newark has been adopted in whole or in part at Trenton, N. J., Morristown, Pa., Kansas City, Mo., Detroit, Mich., and is under consideration for adoption in many cities and towns throughout the country. — Johnston, *The Modern High School*, pp. 298, 306, Wiener.

Tom is something of a baby. I inquired the cause of his poor recitation, and he protested that he did not understand the book. When I showed him just where the point over which he had stumbled was explained in the book he said, "I understand it now after you have explained it." He wants to be spoon-fed.

. . . There is such a thing as excessive gregariousness. A man may be too much a mixer. Without some withdrawal, some privacy, there could be no integrity of character. We need to recollect, to pull ourselves together, to sound our individual relations to the universe. . . . To lose yourself in sociability is to lose the sociability also, for two nothings cannot correspond. . . . — Lee, *Play in Education*, p. 321.

The ideally trained servant of the community is the man who, when during the indifferent reading of a Blue Book, his eye is attracted by some numerical total of disease or unemployment, is in a moment both alive to its significance and already started on the work of remedy. — Wallas, *The Great Society*, pp. 158, 159.

The Reaction to Communication

The reactions which follow communication have been analyzed most fully by the psychologist, Tarde, and the sociologist, Giddings; to these two the writer is most indebted for the ideas contained in the three following paragraphs.

When communication is started between persons who are already much alike it tends to make them more alike; assimilation is the technical name for this reaction. There are two ways in which this takes place. Each is stated here in a paragraph but will be elaborated farther on in a chapter.

Mind like every other force in nature tends to follow the line of least resistance. When it is in condition for action and no habitual line of action offers, then it is likely to act according to some model which is presented to it; even the most original mind follows some kind of cue. And so imi-

tation and suggestion play a great part in bringing about assimilation. If one boy in school asks for a drink, others will want a drink, too. The great importance of personality, just alluded to, comes in this way: in proportion as the personality is attractive it offers a model for active but unemployed minds to follow. Sympathy is a slightly different form of the same thing. You relate an experience to a friend; in proportion as the friend is constituted like yourself and puts himself in your place, he has the same feelings as yourself — gets into sympathy with you.

Socialization thus finds its tap-root in sympathetic emotionalism.— Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, p. 198.

. . . The basis of any deep sense of relationship is the realization of a common experience. We expect sympathy and understanding only from those who have had experiences similar to our own. . . . — Betts, *Social Principles of Education*, p. 236.

Three girls in conversation one day fell to speaking about their mothers. Two of them had recently lost their mothers; these two talked long and earnestly of this hard experience. Finally the third one interposed: "Girls, I don't want to be unsympathetic: it must be just terrible to lose one's mother. But you see we have never lost anyone from our family, so I do not know how to sympathize with you. I just can't understand what your feelings must be like."

Two girls were always alone at school. They did not seem interested in anything beyond school work. At recess they would stand and look at the others playing, with never a word to say. They seemed afraid to express an opinion on anything. The reason was that our small town is divided into two parts, and these two girls lived "across the pond." On the way home they walked in a different direction from the rest of us and they lived too far away to come and play with us after supper. But within the last three years they have surmounted this obstacle to their communication. They have taken part in all the social activities of the school in company with the girls of their classes.

Communication is imperfect unless it does produce sympathy. If the same experience is emotionally different to yourself and your friend, then neither can fully understand the other.

Sympathy is both the result of communication and the basis for more communication.

Kindness and the wish for the good opinion of others accomplish the same result in a somewhat different way. You receive a communication from another person. If you wish to please him and have him think well of you you will express agreement with him unless there be clear ground for opposing him. A certain lady, who is more than usually independent in thought and action, carries this tendency to such an extreme that it becomes a mannerism. In animated conversation she often repeats instantly the exact form of words spoken by another.

> . . . In the first place, it must be recognized that human intercourse is far from being a complete mutual uncovering, inasmuch as converse is a social act implying a willingness to tolerate and a wish to please. Without assuming that "language is given us to conceal thought," we can yet safely say that only a part of the contents of one's mind is communicated to others. . . .
>
> . . . The communication by which associates come to have ideas and ideals in common is carried on in a propitiatory spirit, and is more or less seasoned to the taste of the listener. If it be otherwise, if intercourse becomes an avowal of hostile intentions or a mutual hurling of defiance, all friendly talk is soon broken off, and association ends in flight or avoidance. This being granted, it is easy to see that a man will prudently lock within his own breast those notions and projects which are so egoistic and aggressive that nobody else can share them. He will cast into the stock of ideas circulating through the capillaries of intercourse only those which are not hateful or shocking to his hearer. — Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 342, 343.

In all of these cases we have assimilation by attraction; the bonds which unite are those of feeling. These bonds are strong because they are usually unseen and unfelt, and therefore arouse no resistance. No mechanism is needed to put them on beyond communication itself in some one of its many forms, though of course personal communication is more effective than impersonal.

The other method of assimilation is just the opposite of this. It is coercion. The stronger of two persons wishes to use the other for some purpose of his own, or perhaps he merely wishes to gratify his love of domination. He impresses his will upon the other by force, intimidation, command, deception, or any way that will bring the desired result; attraction may even be used to some extent. Petruchio's shrew of a bride was not disposed to go on horseback for their wedding journey, so he picked her up and set her in the saddle and started off. Two boys see a robbery; one of them wants to give information of it, but the other is a friend of the robbers and frightens him out of it. Then there is the ordinary command from an official: the teacher taps the bell and the class rises; but here, of course, the assimilation is superficial. Sometimes the coercion comes from the situation without anyone intending it. If I wish to be in the throng I must go the way the throng goes, though no one may care whether I go that way or not. A class is planning an excursion. Shall it be up the river or across the lake? A vote is taken and the minority yields to the majority. Each person in the majority has his wish, but it is probably no part of his wish to coerce anyone else; it is simply an individual preference. The coercion is in the situation: the class want to go together, the divergent wants must be harmonized; the communication simply makes the situation known. However, it is by using the situation that the coercive person usually gets his results: he may even represent the situation in such a way as to get his results by the method of attraction without any coercion being apparent, though of course if he misrepresents the situation he undermines his own influence.

But communication does not always tend toward assimilation. When the persons are very different to start with, then communication, if not long continued, tends to further differentiate them. You see a beggar, or a foreigner, or an aged person: you feel no attraction, you experience no incli-

nation to do the same things — at least at first view, without regard to what a closer communication might reveal. Your feeling is one of repulsion; you avoid anything which seems like imitation. Instead of sympathy there is antipathy: the beggar's servility, the foreigner's displeasure with our customs, the aged person's love of quiet, are feelings which you cannot share. You may see the reasons for them and you may pity the persons who are so unfortunate as to possess them; but to see any exhibition of them prompts you rather to indulge in feelings of just the opposite character. You stand straighter after meeting a beggar, you love your own ways more after a glance at the foreigner's oddities, after seeing an aged recluse you plunge with more zest into some hurly-burly of action. The reason is that there is too wide a difference between yourself and these other persons; there is no consciousness of kind; there is no apparent like-mindedness; your world seems totally different from theirs.

Social repulsion is as characteristic of us as social attraction. — Lee, *Play in Education*, p. 323.

I know a girl who attends high school. She is peculiar in that she does not mix with the other pupils. She dresses in the fashion of her grandmother, or perhaps of someone farther back than that. There does not seem to be anyone like-minded from whom she could get her ways. She seems to persist in her peculiarities from choice; she likes to be different.

When the teacher exhorts a mischievous boy to study his lesson, calling his attention at the same time to the studious girl of the class, no assimilation results because the boy feels that both teacher and girl are beings of a different order from himself; their approval of study is really *prima facie* reason why he should not study, for he wishes rather to avoid becoming such as they are.

Then again persons may be so situated as to be rivals: two boys in love with the same girl, two competitors in business, two teachers applying for the same position. Or they

may be outright opponents: the players in a game of tennis, the rooters on opposite sides at a football game, the buyer and the seller in a business deal, a bull and a bear in the market. Each is then keenly interested in any communication from or about the other relating to the matter in hand, but with antipathy running through all: what elates the one depresses the other, and vice versa. The necessary antipathies tend to arouse still others; this may go on until sympathy is crowded out and a feud established. Then any communication relating to the success of either party causes opposite reactions in each.

All that is said here, however, about these differentiating factors, is subject to one qualification. If the antipathies be not so strong but that they can be controlled, a working adjustment of them will grow up in time; if communication be gradually extended to other matters, some sympathies may be revealed; a relation which began with repulsion may end with attraction. Of course the growth may be in the opposite direction — from attraction to repulsion; but the point to be made here is that the common humanity in all people affords a basis for sympathy and assimilative communication, provided time enough be taken to find it and opportunity be given to build upon it. If teacher and pupil are working at cross purposes, it usually requires only a frank talk about their differences, or a chance to meet socially and let each discover that the other is human, or a bit of coöperative activity in which the more disgruntled of the two is genuinely interested, to find a common ground of sympathy. At the same time it must be admitted that there are some persons between whom antipathies exist so strong as to nullify whatever sympathies there would otherwise be ground for, even after long trial. The reports of the divorce cases give testimony to this. Teachers would best admit that such antipathies may be found in the school as well as in the home.

There was considerable trouble between the boys of a school and a farmer whose land adjoined. The farmer scolded because the boys trampled down his crop, while the boys insisted on the right to enter the field for their balls. The boys were not careful and the farmer was cross. Finally the farmer called at the school. Each side stated its case and an agreement was made. After that things were peaceful for a long time.

Topics

1. Do we usually get a concept before we get the word or other symbol for it? Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 69; Wallas, *The Great Society*, p. 53. Collect inductive evidence. Which should a teacher give first when presenting a new topic to a class?

2. Discuss suggestibility. Ross, *Social Psychology*, pp. 11–42.

3. Explain communication with an imaginary person. Give examples you have observed. What influence does it have in shaping character? Cooley, *Human Nature and Social Order*, pp. 52–62, 69–101; Holmes, *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, Section III.

4. Sit in a schoolroom during a study period and make a list of the kinds of non-verbal communication you see, with the number of instances of each kind.

5. How may high school pupils be given more opportunity for free communication? O'Shea, *Social Development and Education*, pp. 209–225, 248–264.

6. Improvements in rural communication. Gillette, *Constructive Rural Sociology*, pp. 191–203.

7. Report on chapters in Scott's *Social Education:* "Reading, Language and Literature," pp. 199–236; "Fine Art," pp. 260–280.

Problems

1. "Does attendance at a large school increase or diminish the individuality of the student who comes from a small town?" Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 91–97.

2. Should children be allowed to communicate in the study room?

3. "What views have you formed from your own experience regarding superficiality in education? Can you suggest remedies?" Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 98–100.

4. What kinds of pupils should be segregated and what should be done with them? O'Shea, pp. 414–421.

5. Should a school give a public dramatic performance at least once a year? King, *Social Aspects of Education*, pp. 269, 281; O'Shea, *Social*

Development and Education, pp. 153–155, 370–409. To make a formal debate of this, the question may be restricted to a particular school or to some class or organization in the school.

References

Addams, *Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, pp. 75–95.

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 16, pp. 342–371, 538–564, Frances Fenton, "The Influence of Newspaper Presentations upon the Growth of Crime and Other Anti-Social Activity"; Vol. 24, pp. 502–527, Ross, "Association."

American Sociological Society, *Publications*, Vol. 9, "Freedom of Communication."

Beegle and Crawford, *Community Drama and Pageantry*.

Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 271–282, "Processes of Socialization."

Carver, *Sociology and Social Progress*, pp. 716–732, Godkin, Bagehot.

* Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 61–103.

Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 127–143.

Dewey, *Schools of Tomorrow*, pp. 103–131.

Educational Review, Vol. 50, pp. 392–398, L. A. Averill, "Educational Possibilities of the Motion Picture."

Ellis, *Task of Social Hygiene*, pp. 349–378, possibility of an international language.

Encyclopædia Britannica, "Philology," early part of article.

Gesell, *The Normal Child and Primary Education*, pp. 125–180, drawing, drama, phonics, and language.

Giddings, *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 124–145.

Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 223–228.

Havemeyer, *The Drama of Savage Peoples*.

Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, pp. 175–181.

Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education:* "Drama and Education"; "Language, Psychology of"; "Speech Defects"; "Story Telling"; "Vernacular, Teaching in the"; "Writing."

O'Shea, *Social Development and Education*, pp. 3, 29–54, 370–386, 396–421, 535–550.

Ross, *Changing America*, pp. 109–136, "The Suppression of Important News."

Sayce, *Introduction to the Science of Language*, pp. 90–162.

Scott, *Social Education*, pp. 1–7.

Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, pp. 407–413.

Ward, *Dynamic Sociology*, Vol. II, pp. 180–189.

PART II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CHAPTERS V–X

After studying each of the factors of society as far as possible apart from the others, it is next in order to study them as they work together to make a self-sustaining whole: how population becomes organized in groups of various sizes and for various purposes, according to the kind of communication which unites them, the groups and the communication again depending on the qualities of the individuals and the kinds of activity in which the location and the density of population compel them to engage. This Part II includes the most substantial portion of sociology: it is the portion which has been most thoroughly worked out and so has the most of scientific character. If we wish to see society reduced to its lowest or most general terms and still remain society (the test of that being whether or not the terms are treated in any other science than sociology), then here is the place to find it. Part I was obviously only introductory to this.

CHAPTER V

PRIMARY GROUPS AND CONGENIAL GROUPS

. . . Since differences of tastes, manners, creeds, languages, and innumerable other variations prevent everybody from liking everybody else, pleasurable fellowship can only take place on the basis of *groups* in which there is some sort of community of feeling. And so the wise social-centre director is now dealing with coteries and cliques, and mainly those which are self formed, because the business of dividing a crowd into groups which will stick together has not yet been reduced to a science. . . . — Johnston, *The Modern High School*, p. 535, C. A. Perry.

The primary groups form the most elementary organizations of human Society. . . . — Smith, *Educational Sociology*, p. 50.

. . . The social instincts operate most effectively only in personal groups. Thus sympathy can largely be depended upon to restrain evil conduct among those who personally know each other. The swindler is often honest and generous in dealing with personal acquaintances. The plundering, corrupt, and corrupting political boss may be a loyal good fellow to his gang. . . . — Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 74, 75.

HERE is a neglected chapter in the theory of social organization. Everyone at once admits the importance of such groups as are described above, yet with few exceptions every social theorist has paid no attention to them, doubtless taking them for granted; they have been too commonplace to require notice by the learned.

The first writer to treat the subject with any fullness was Professor C. H. Cooley of the University of Michigan. In 1900 he began to mention primary groups in lectures to his classes. In 1909 his *Social Organization* appeared, contain-

ing three chapters on the subject, and these chapters are still the best treatment that has appeared. Professor Cooley applied the adjective *primary* to such groups because they "are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual." He makes little use of precise definitions, and he hardly gives any definite mark for a primary group beyond "face-to-face communication." Here, however, is a definition which he has sent in a personal letter and has given permission to use:

> I am accustomed to say that the primary group is simply an *intimate* group, the intimacy covering a considerable period and resulting in an habitual sympathy, the mind of each being filled with a sense of the mind of the others, so that the group as a whole is the chief sphere of the social self for each individual in it — of emulation, ambition, resentment, loyalty, etc.

Cooley devotes an entire chapter to the ideals which primary groups foster. It is by membership in these groups that the gregarious instinct in us develops and we learn how to live as sociable beings. Other writers have expressed the same idea as follows:

> . . . The gang spirit must be spread out but not diluted: the sort of close fellowship it represents is needed as a school of conduct. Young people are not all heroic. No people, young or old, are capable of evolving their own standards of behavior. We all need outside pressure of a fierce and inexorable sort to overcome our laziness or cowardice, make us face the lion in the path, strike out into the cold world upon the quest our soul demands of us. . . .
>
> . . . The most difficult problem of life is to find the right way of treating other people — to make courtesy coincide with independence, respect for others with entire self-respect. . . .
>
> . . . Precept in this all-important department is of negligible value. Not what he is told to do, but what he sees done and what he finds required of him by a body of opinion whose pressure he cannot escape, is the force that molds a young person's standard of behavior. . . . — Lee, *Play in Education*, pp. 374, 375.

. . . One has only to consider how completely the child is dependent from his earliest days for successful execution of his purposes upon fitting his acts into those of others to see what a premium is put upon behaving as others behave, and of developing an understanding of them in order that he may so behave. The pressure for like-mindedness in action from this source is so great that it is quite superfluous to appeal to imitation. — Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, p. 42.

The Size of a Primary Group

It will be conceded at the first glance, without hesitation, that the sociological structure of a group is essentially modified by the number of the individuals that are united in it. It is an everyday experience — yes, it is almost to be construed from the most general social-psychological presuppositions — that a group of a certain extent and beyond a certain stage in its increase of numbers must develop for its maintenance certain forms and organization which it did not previously need; and that, on the other hand, more restricted groups manifest qualities and reciprocal activities which, in the case of the numerical extension, inevitably disappear. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 8, p. 2, George Simmel.

. . . The number of his fellows with whom a man can maintain easy personal intercourse varies with individual variations, with the conditions of work, and with the time which any body of workmen spend together. Perhaps it does not often exceed eighty, and is normally about twenty or thirty. I do not know of any important attempt to organize mechanical work in relation to that fact, though sometimes the success of a "gang system" may accidentally depend upon it. An American engineer said, I was once told, that the only piece of work which he had thoroughly enjoyed was the making of the Key West Railway, where each pier was placed upon a separate rock in the sea, and was erected by a small and separate group of men who came to know each other thoroughly. In armies it is found necessary, if any measure of comfort and contentment is to be secured, that the officers in each regiment and the men in each company or platoon should be deliberately formed into groups, generally numbering about twenty-five; and one of the responsible organizers of a great Insurance Company told me that he consciously aims at bringing groups of twenty or thirty officials into regular social intercourse. Those Universities are most successful where, by an arrangement of "colleges" or "dormitories," the students are divided into somewhat larger groups; and if no arrangement of the kind has been made by the authorities,

clubs or cliques, in forms sometimes inconsistent with other conditions of desirable social life, spontaneously make their appearance. — Wallas, *The Great Society*, pp. 333, 334.

Simmel's article appeared in 1902, and the book by Wallas thirteen years later, both doubtless independent of Cooley's influence. Other independent evidence on the size of a primary group is found in discussions about the proper number of seats in a schoolroom which is to be in charge of one teacher, and the number of teachers in a building which is to be in charge of one principal. Thirty pupils to a teacher is most often named as the standard, with a range of from two or three to ten in either direction.[1]

. . . The principals interviewed have expressed themselves almost unanimously as to the proper size, maintaining that a school should number only so many teachers as the personal acquaintance and influence of the principal can effectively reach; and the outside limit is about thirty, with 1,500 children. Many would much prefer to limit the number of children to 1,000. — McMurry, *Elementary School Standards*, p. 186.

During the writer's connection with one school the number of teachers has grown from twenty-five to forty-five. This has effected a radical transformation in the character of our faculty simply as a group. Formerly we could all meet for supper and a social time at any one of our homes, and we did so most frequently, the members of our families often being included. Now a party for the faculty is an undertaking of such magnitude that it is attempted only once or twice a year, and it has been several years since the children were included. Our daily work is now of greater variety, carried on in more rooms, spread over more ground, and with a more complicated program, so that one of us may not see some of his colleagues for weeks, instead of meeting most of them many times a day as in earlier times. The weekly faculty meeting used to be quite informal and was largely devoted to visiting, many of the women having fancywork along; now it is a business meeting with much routine to put through, and the president holds it to parliamentary rules. Formerly only some unusual necessity would keep one of us away from the general exercises in the morning, lest we lose touch with the school; now it is the exception to attend, and all of the important communications come to us on paper. Therefore, while the number of persons in

[1] Ballou, *High School Organization*, p. 32.

our group has nearly doubled, the opportunities for getting acquainted with any of them have lessened, with the result that some of us might not be able to call some of our colleagues by name if we should see them among strangers, let alone the members of their families. In fine, we have ceased to be a primary group simply because there are so many of us.

Modern methods of urban transportation and communication — the electric railway, the automobile, and the telephone — have silently and rapidly changed in recent years the social and industrial organization of the modern city. . . . These changes in the industrial organization and in the distribution of population have been accompanied by corresponding changes in the habits, sentiments, and character of the urban population.

The general nature of these changes is indicated by the fact that the growth of cities has been accompanied by the substitution of indirect, "secondary," for direct, face-to-face, "primary" relations in the associations of individuals in the community. . . .

Touch and sight, physical contact, are the basis for the first and most elementary human relationships. Mother and child, husband and wife, father and son, master and servant, kinsman and neighbor, minister, physician, and teacher; these are the most intimate and real relationships of life and in the small community they are practically inclusive.

The interactions which take place among the members of a community so constituted are immediate and unreflecting. Intercourse is carried on largely within the region of instinct and feeling. Social control arises, for the most part spontaneously, in direct response to personal influences and public sentiment. It is the result of a personal accommodation rather than the formulation of a rational and abstract principle.

. . . In a great city, where the population is unstable, where parents and children are employed out of the house and often in distant parts of the city, where thousands of people live side by side for years without so much as a bowing acquaintance, these intimate relationships of the primary group are weakened and the moral order which rested upon them is gradually dissolved.

Under the disintegrating influences of city life most of our traditional institutions, the church, the school, and the family, have been greatly modified. The school, for example, has taken over some of the functions of the family. It is around the public school and its solicitude for the moral and physical welfare of the children that something like a new neighborhood and community spirit tends to get itself organized.

The church, on the other hand, which has lost much of its influence since the printed page has so largely taken the place of the pulpit in the interpretation of life, seems at present to be in process of readjustment to the new conditions. — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 20, pp. 593, 594, R. E. Park, "Human Behavior in the City Environment."

Congenial Groups

One kind of primary group will now be selected for fuller analysis and illustration. Though it is most often given as typical of all, it may be conveniently called the *congenial* group to distinguish it from the others. Such a group consists of persons who habitually maintain direct communication with one another for the sake of the enjoyment they find in it. They must of course be persons who are in sympathy with one another, or at least without strong antipathies. For this reason the number must be small. An additional member means more than a proportional increase in the probability of discord, for he brings not only one new reaction, but at least as many as there are members already in the group. Thus in a group of three there are three pairs of persons and so three times as many chances of antipathy as in a group of two. In a group of four there are six pairs, in a group of five there are ten, and so on. But even this represents the relationship to be more simple than it really is, for the reaction between any two persons is modified by the mere presence of another, after the manner of catalysis in chemistry: the new member brings not only his own reaction with each of the others, but he also causes each of the other pairs to react in a somewhat different way. Then also, the larger the group the less the chance for each to express himself, because only one can have the attention of the group at a time. It is also more likely that some will be absent when the others are together, and the absentees will have difficulty in keeping abreast of the others in thought. It is rare, therefore, for a congenial group to include more than half a

dozen persons. When it does it is certain to diminish in coherence through the formation of subgroups, and perhaps start on the road to dissolution.

Since a congenial group is a spontaneous growth, without formal organization, its membership is usually shifting and uncertain. A and B, for example, were students with a room in a central location; C and D were frequent callers; these four had similar work. E called occasionally and F rarely: these two were students in other departments. A was popular with all. B would probably not have been in the group if he had not roomed with A; he and C had little in common, but he and F enjoyed each other's company when they were by themselves. Somewhat after this manner a congenial group consists of a small nucleus of almost constant members, with a fringe of occasional members who each gives most of his time to one or more other groups.

The associations of adults are so largely controlled by remote ends that their congenial groups are difficult to identify. An old person does not fit into new groups easily; he still lives in the groups of his earlier life, keeping in touch with them by indirect communication; the casual observer merely sees the absence of any strong interest in surrounding persons. Children, on the other hand, spend much of their time in congenial groups. A teacher can find no more fascinating study, or one more helpful professionally, than these natural groupings which children form for themselves.

For boys' groups of the better sort, the following accounts are typical:

Five boys between the ages of nine and thirteen got together to work. All would go to one boy's home and help him with his chores, then go on to the next. This was fun — work turned to play. The leader of this group was not the oldest nor the largest, but one who could look serious and command — always could think of new stunts to do. He it was who proposed the building of a shack in one of the back yards with scraps of lumber picked up or given to them.

A group of six boys was established in the seventh grade through an interest in outdoor sports, especially baseball, hunting, and swimming. When at leisure they were always together. At parties and social affairs they formed a clique. When one member was ill the remaining five took turns staying at the bedside during the night. One of the boys fell and broke his arm; the others took his paper route, delivered the papers, and gave him the money. They would also come to play with him and cheer him up. One of the members had work to do before he could come out to play; the others would help him do it. But the unity of the group was not always one of harmony; they had frequent quarrels, though never very serious ones. They hated an untruth. When they found that one of their number had told a deliberate lie they punished him severely.

Last summer I watched a group of boys ranging between nine and twelve years of age on a playground near my home. Almost any time of day they could be seen — the same group each day. Once I noticed a strange boy, about the same age as the rest, come and ask to join in their game. But they refused blankly — no outsiders allowed. On another occasion a boy who had had more practice in playing ball than any in this little group came and offered his services as pitcher. But they refused him, even though they realized that he might be a great help in their play. One morning when the group gathered for play one of the members was not present. They all ran to his home and found that he had been set to the task of piling some wood in a shed. So they pitched in and helped him pile the wood. That done, they all returned to their play. One of the boys accidentally broke a window. They all contributed to the cost of replacing it, so that he had only his share to pay.

The gang spirit is strongest in the average boy during his thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth years, when he is in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. Here is the way one writer describes this stage in a boy's growth:

The boy begins . . . to feel more strongly than before the necessity of meeting certain other boys every day — to play a game, if favored by surroundings and good play traditions, but anyway to meet, for purposes which seem to him sufficient. His life is now in this companionship; it has become his *milieu*, his social complement, his world, as necessary to him as a mother to a little child. This relation pervades his life

and everything he does. If he walks, swims, rides, makes jokes, converses, it is as a member of a horde. . . .

. . . His paramount desire now is to belong: to live and act, succeed or fail — to suffer if need be — not as an individual but as a member of a social whole made up of boys of his own age; and the effects of this new desire are seen in everything he does. . . . — Lee, *Play in Education*, pp. 319, 320.

Girls' Groups

Girls are less obtrusive than boys, less noisy, so that their congenial organization has been less noticed by adults. But their groups exist just as universally as do those of boys, and they are just as important educationally. Groups of girls are smaller than those of boys, and less stable; they are less likely to grow into formal organizations. Here are three accounts of groups composed of older girls:

. . . One worker in a large store noticed that a number of her girls were getting together in a corner of the rest room to read aloud. No one had suggested their doing it: they met because they enjoyed reading. One day the Leader joined the group and asked: "Girls, why don't you start a Literary Club? . . ." The suggestion met with instant approval. A flourishing Literary Club was the result. . . . — Ferris, *Girls' Clubs*, pp. 47, 48.

I belonged to a group with three other girls. We were all about the same age. The group started in the early part of the seventh grade. At school we were always together and paid little attention to other pupils. The teachers tried to get us to mingle with the other children, but without success. Two of us took piano lessons, another vocal, and the other played the violin; therefore much of our time outside of school was spent in practicing music together. We could all roller-skate, so on Saturday afternoons we often went skating. One of our rules was that when we were going any place we must be there on time. No one dared to lie to another member of the group. These rules we always obeyed. When we graduated from the eighth grade two of us came to the normal and the other two went to the high school, so our group was broken up.

In a boarding club of eight girls there is a primary group of four. They became intimate while waiting for meals. In time they found that

they had similar tastes for literature. At first they merely read and discussed literature at odd times; then they arranged to spend one evening a week together. Although these four enjoy the company of the eight at the table, yet when the meal is over the four go off together. One of them was invited to a party and wished very much to attend it. When she learned, however, that the other three were not invited, and saw how downcast they were over it, she declined the invitation. This is a sample of the loyalty to one another which they often exhibit. The strongest of the girls is giving the others not only her love for poetry, but also her confident bearing among people.

The following reports come from young women as a result of their experience in teaching, and therefore describe groups of younger girls:

Girls form groups for the purpose of playing, sewing, etc., and sometimes for the sole purpose of having companions in whom they can confide. In girls' groups we usually find a great deal of gossiping going on. Boys' groups are harder to break up; the members are more loyal to each other; they work more as a unit. Girls like to have their own way, therefore there is constant clashing in a group.

In my fifth-grade practice class there is a group of five girls that has grown into a formal organization. The purpose is to make dolls' dresses. They meet at the homes of the members on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. On Saturdays the sewing ends at three o'clock and they go in a body to the matinée. I was invited to one of their meetings. The chief topic of conversation was the merits and demerits of their practice teachers. They decided, among other things that afternoon, that they would make Miss C. "mad" by all chewing gum and writing notes.

There is some clashing among the girls, and usually over trivial matters. Occasionally a girl will come to me and ask for permission to change her seat; then, when asked the reason why, will say that she and her seat-mate are not on the best of terms. Of course I never give the girls permission for such a reason. Instead I arrange to have the two girls deal with each other in some way, and before they know it they are as good friends as ever. I have never known such a case to arise among the boys. They seem to settle such matters among themselves.

But some girls' groups are as lasting and harmonious as those of the boys:

I once knew a group of three girls. There seemed to be no reason why they should go together except that they simply enjoyed each other's company. They would read, play with dolls, and sew. One was a great reader, and often brought a book with her. Then the other two would sew while she would read. Two of the girls went to a convent school and the third to a public school, but this enforced separation seemed only to strengthen the group. When evening came they would meet and relate the experiences of the day; as much as possible of Saturday and Sunday would be spent together. By and by one of the girls moved away, but this separation was overcome by almost daily letters. Now, after the lapse of twelve years, this group still exists, kept together by correspondence and occasional visits.

There are four girls who are always together. They live in the same town and were friends before coming here. Misses W. and C. became acquainted while in the third grade; they were together through the grades and high school. Misses A. and C. were together through the grades in another school. These four girls formed one group during high school days. They came to Normal at the same time, roomed at the same place, took up the same course in school, and consequently are in all the same classes in school. They sit near each other in both the study room and the auditorium. They are loyal to each other. If one is absent the others resent any uncomplimentary remark about her.

One of the girls was to sing in a quartet. It was necessary for her to go early to practice, but there was some work about the room which she was to do. The other girls did her work as well as their own so that she could go.

In the same way, the other ideals are present, such as truthfulness, kindness, and lawfulness or abiding by the wish of the majority; also freedom, for although these four girls coöperate in all of their work there is still the feeling that they can do what they wish.

It is rare to find both girls and boys in the same group if beyond kindergarten age. Whenever that occurs the girls presumably have some masculine qualities, or the boys feminine qualities, or else the group is functional rather than primary.

When M. was a grammar grade pupil she played baseball with the boys. She could run fast and had plenty of nerve, so was a good player. When she neared the end of the eighth grade one of the boys said he hoped she would not pass so that she could continue on their team.

About thirty-five years ago, a group of boys and girls in the intermediate grades called themselves the KKK's — Ku-Klux-Klan. They read *Scottish Chiefs* by themselves, and as a result of it formed a plan to free Scotland when they grew up. Some of the members of the group still exchange letters and so keep up the old group feeling. One of the women went recently with her son to visit one of the men.

Congenial Groups in School

The following account, written by a teacher, gives a careful analysis of the grouping of the children in a rural school:

In this school there were fourteen families represented, and at school the children formed seven play groups. At noon in winter when the children ate their lunches in the schoolhouse, it was an easy matter to pick out the different groups Only about half of the children belonged to decided groups. Sometimes they were grouped one way, and at another time some other way. Two little girls never belonged to any group. The same was true of one boy.

Of the seven distinct groups, one was a group of two boys, one fourteen years old, and one sixteen. These two boys were always together, and, if one happened to miss a day, which was seldom, the other seemed entirely lost, and did not want to take any part in the play with the rest. Another group was made up of four boys: one aged eleven; two, thirteen; and one, twelve. Three of these boys always formed a group, and the fourth was sometimes a part of the group and sometimes not. He was rather a quarrelsome boy. Another group was made up of two boys, each fourteen years old; another, of three boys, eleven and twelve years old, two of them being brothers.

Three girls, eleven, twelve, and thirteen, formed a group. Three girls, two twelve years old and one ten, formed another group. Two little girls who started to school the first year I was here, soon formed a group, and still keep together.

The two little girls who were not members of any group seemed to be different from the others. One was a member of the family which was rather looked down upon by the other families. The other was a strange child. She never seemed to be able to take things in the way they were intended. She wanted to look into the other girls' dinner

pails, and would do it every chance she got, even though she knew it was wrong. She would try to sit down in a seat even when it was already crowded.

The boys' groups were the more permanent. The girls shifted around more. Sometimes the group would be made up of four and then again these four would make two groups.

It goes without saying that congenial groups are influential in a school. All that personality counts for applies with special force to the group of persons who meet with such close intimacy. The practical question is about the policy which the teacher should adopt toward them. The ordinary elementary school requires that a large proportion of the work done by pupils be their individual effort. While every pupil should be trained to work by himself, it must yet be recognized that the greater part of the world's work is done by groups of workers and that the majority of young people show a keener interest in group work than in individual work. Often work which the teacher assigns with the expectation that it will be prepared by each pupil independently is in fact worked out in groups, with more or less of concealment according to the teacher's attitude toward that practice. Accordingly some of the newer types of schools allow more space in the program for such coöperative enterprises as chorus and orchestral music, pageants, plays, games, dances, publishing a school paper, running a cafeteria, housekeeping, and large pieces of construction work. The joint effort involved in such activities will enlist congenial groups and, under supervision, will have a peculiar educative value. Testimony shows that the presence of congenial groups, even when their aims are not specially bad, has its drawbacks and even dangers. The first statement quoted is from a teacher of considerable experience and more than ordinary success:

I think a school that is broken up into "sets" and "cliques" is in a deplorable condition. A good teacher smooths away these barriers and brings the whole room into harmony. A teacher who would de-

liberately foster cliques in school I should think to be on a par with the teacher who has pets and shows favoritism. Cliques are all very nice for those who are inside, but how about those who are outside and see the group go off with arms about each other whispering secrets? Is it not the teacher's duty to see fair play — equal advantages to all?

I do not think that play groups should be openly recognized. The teacher can make use of them to some extent, but should endeavor to make the pupils of the school one group. Effort by the teacher to get into the groups may result in loss of prestige. The principal of the high school I attended never fraternized with the pupils, yet he was as good a teacher as I ever had and kept his position seven years.

When J. was in the sixth grade he was in a congenial group of boys and girls. The teacher favored this group so much as to arouse the antipathy of the remaining pupils. The next year J. and others of the group failed in their school work because they had forgotten how to study. He attributed his weakness in mathematics to the easy requirements of that sixth grade.

But the weight of testimony is decidedly in favor of recognizing the groups, provided it be done with care, especially avoiding favoritism. Congenial association is something no one can be altogether deprived of and retain a wholesome mind. To the child it is the breath of life; he must be immersed in it constantly as he is in the air; older persons can do without it longer because they have learned to draw mental nourishment by indirect communication.

Take the case of the new child in school who has no acquaintances there. He is enrolled, assigned to a seat, draws books, goes to recitation, and the like. These, of course, are what he comes for and may be all right in themselves, but they are not enough: they are formal. There must be companionship, the give and take in talk, smiles, laughter, play, and all the spontaneous things that come in informal communication between friends. If the hours pass by without these things the child has a feeling akin to suffocation; he bursts out crying without apparent cause, goes home with a lump in his

throat, and hates school. On the other hand, if the child happens to meet a congenial companion or two before the school is called to order, is permitted to sit near them, and has occasional opportunities for informal intercourse with them, then friendly glances and smiles can be exchanged in the midst of the formal things, he breathes freely in the assurance that others who understand him are at hand, and goes home delighted with school.

All the children belonged to groups and the spirit of the school was wholesome. The group interests were in part interests in specialties. Four girls were musically inclined, three others were interested in needlework; the younger boys and girls played games together, while the two older boys were always together, playing ball or hunting or fishing. The teacher tried to get them to play together, but without success, and she finally admitted that "they all seem perfectly happy as they are."

The groups did not cause any trouble; the children were not so divided but that all could join in a game and play. They were all quite fair, even with the three children who were in no group. Groups are a help to the teacher. If a teacher recognizes them, things will work out harmoniously; otherwise it will be like bringing sharp edges together. Whenever there is any group work, those agreeable to each other should work together to get the best results. If the teacher would avoid trouble, she will not have two people sit together who cannot get along well. In this school there were no individual desks, and two children had to sit together. At first two boys who had sat together found fault constantly with one another; little things that would never have been noticed ordinarily were exaggerated. After their seats were changed the boys were both good in school, and neither found fault with his new seat-mate.

The Sister who had charge of the boys was interested in child-study and understood primary groups. She allowed members of groups to sit near each other and study together. In contests the groups were pitted against each other. The leaders of the groups were the monitors of the classes.

Four girls have been in the same classes for six years, and have been a congenial group throughout that time. They dress alike as far as possible. They strive to keep their grades above a certain mark. When

one member is away the others write a group letter to her. It is rare that one of them says "I" in speaking of her plans or work; it is nearly always "we." But they are not entirely interested in themselves. On May Day they make it a point always to remember two old ladies with May baskets. On St. Valentine's Day their efforts are directed toward having everyone in the school receive at least one valentine. They set the standard of work in whatever class they are members. One boy, naturally bright, but lazy, makes special effort to keep up with the "Quartette." That group is always recognized by the teachers because of the good influence it has on the other children.

When I was about ten years old I attended a school which was divided into two groups, the North and the South. The teacher fostered these groups by letting the members of each group sit together, also by acting as the leader now of the one and now of the other. The rivalry between the groups was friendly. The next year the new teacher mixed the seating of the groups. There was constant disturbance such as throwing notes and whispering. The outcome was a war between the North and the South which was not a friendly rivalry but a real combat.

At Boarding Schools

Then there is the girl who goes away from home to school for the first time and has a week of homesickness. Does not the theory of congenial groups offer the best explanation and the proper remedy?

She leaves the congenial groups in which she has lived and an interval elapses before she can find new ones. The management of the school can do much to shorten that interval. It can arrange to have the girls thrown together in various combinations so that each one will meet many others, with occupations requiring communication and with opportunity for informal conversation. The sooner this is done the better; at all events it should be before the first Sunday or holiday.

The process by which a hundred girls, hitherto strangers to one another, assort themselves into congenial groups is one of exceeding intricacy. Between every two who meet the association must be mutually satisfactory or else it will remain formal, and it is almost necessary that the satisfaction

extend to all the members of the groups to which each one of the pair belongs; one girl may like another but be obliged to hold aloof because she clashes with one of the other's friends. Each must learn how to meet each of the others whom circumstances place her with, and to do it in such a way as to avoid the asperities and find the durable satisfactions. The school can help in this by bringing together in the first week as many different groups as possible for singing, basket ball, tennis, hikes; also the adherents of the various churches, the devotees of orchestral music, drama, and other arts. It is not necessary to begin serious work in this first week that is so full anyway, but just enough to bring the new members together for mutual acquaintance. Most of the groups thus formed are only temporary, but they supply acquaintance in place of isolation so as to minimize homesickness and promote the formation of permanent groups.

Large schools often divide their students into groups of from a dozen to twenty and assign one group to each member of the faculty as an adviser. The adviser is expected to develop congenial association with the members of his group as far as possible and at least get into direct communication with them.

Fraternities and sororities are organizations whose chief function it is to promote congenial association among students by bringing together a selected membership in a house adapted to the purpose. Such organizations have existed in the colleges for more than a century, usually, though not always, with the approval of the faculty. In the early years of the twentieth century they grew rapidly in high schools. But the school authorities in most places adopted measures of repression; when high school students withdraw by themselves in small, exclusive groups, they tend to develop a snobbish attitude toward outsiders that is intolerable; they still need the corrective of free association with persons both older and younger than themselves. In the colleges and universities,

however, especially the larger ones with thousands of students away from their homes, fraternities and sororities meet a real need. But that need, it must be admitted, is in some institutions adequately met by other agencies.

At C. Hall in our university some of the girls who have been there the previous year are appointed as advisers to the freshman girls. During vacation the names and addresses of two or three freshmen are sent to each adviser, who then writes to each of her advisées and arranges first of all to meet them at the trains.

There is also an all-university system of advisers managed by the junior class girls in behalf of the freshman girls. "The duties of the advisers," says the Bulletin of the Self-Government Association of the Women Students, "are to aid the freshmen in adjusting themselves to their new life and to advise them concerning their choice of college activities."

. . . There has never been set forth a good reason for the existence of the high school fraternity. The college students are older and capable of exercising more judgment. A real need is supplied to young men and women away from home by offering a substitute for home life. High school students are at home, and are too young for club life. Whatever may be said in favor of college fraternities, relative to establishing desirable social standards and for the benefit of students, is not applicable to high school pupils because of their immaturity. — *Educational Review*, Vol. 43, p. 170, R. C. Hill.

Discipline

It often happens that hard cases of discipline have their roots in the deliberately chosen policy of congenial groups — "gangs" as they are then called. It is the group that must be dealt with, though it may sometimes be reached through its leader. A requirement that would seem arbitrary when imposed on an individual may seem entirely just when imposed on a group. The promise of a group can be trusted more than the promise of an individual, because the members will look after one another.

A gang of youngsters were transferred to our school from a school where they had had their own way. They started in to run things, even

making use of knives to overawe the others. Two of them told me in the most amiable way how they had held up a boy before coming to us. They had the idea that such conduct was honorable. They yielded slowly and reluctantly to better training, but finally became as good boys as any we had.

Twelve girls, sixteen to eighteen years of age, developed the spirit of the clan. They called themselves the "Batty Bunch," and wore as a badge a pin in the shape of a bat with spread wings about three inches in width. They studied just enough to avoid serious consequences, but always made something better than the passing mark. Their favorite enterprise was to go out in the evening on some kind of an excursion, perhaps an automobile ride into the country. The president of the school reproved them, singly and in groups. He finally exacted from them the promise that they would stay in their rooms and study until ten o'clock. They obeyed the letter of the law, but broke the spirit of it by studying until ten o'clock and then going to the street to have a good time. When the president found this out he prepared to take severe measures. But an elderly man of the faculty, who had a keen insight into human nature, offered to take charge of the "Bunch" and guaranteed their good behavior. The president at once handed him a list of the twelve names and wished him success in his undertaking. Their new sponsor called the girls into his office, read their names, and set the situation before them. They accepted it with pleasure and promised to behave. He insisted on just one thing: each member of the twelve must report to him every morning what she did during the evening before.

Thereafter the "Bats" caused no special trouble. They kept the spirit as well as the letter of the promise to their sponsor. They graduated from the normal school in due time and took positions as teachers, and every one was pronounced a success by the superintendent with whom she worked. In a few years some married and made good homes. All of the others graduated from some university or college. The teacher who took the responsibility for the conduct of the girls testifies that he was helped in a large measure by his wife; she gave the girls a kindly welcome to her home and never preached to them.

The child in question is a boy about ten years old, of foreign parentage, nervous and rather passionate in disposition. He was late in entering school, and was therefore looked upon as an outsider by the groups already formed. This made him lonely and discontented, though at first he seemed to find pleasure in the school work itself. In a few days, how-

ever, his attitude underwent a marked change. He became inattentive and kept close track of the clock in the rear of the room. It was apparent that his thought was becoming centered on something separate from the school and its work. The question, of course, was, What was he doing and where was he going? A little inquiring and watching brought out the fact that, through selling newspapers, blacking shoes, etc., he had gotten in with a gang of boys who were notorious for bad behavior of various kinds, and that he was being made over into one of them about as rapidly as possible. His craving for companionship was being satisfied.

I said very little to the boy himself, but by watching him on the streets whenever possible and consulting others who knew him I decided that his original motive in going with those boys was to get money. Then I undertook to meet him on his own ground. We were making raffia baskets about that time and I offered to buy his basket from him. He became interested immediately. He worked before and after school and at many odd times in order to finish his basket. Some other boys were also hard at work on baskets, and naturally a friendship sprang up between them all. Our boy discovered that these boys knew something, that they liked to do things, and above all that they could do things as well as those outside fellows. An outdoor picnic helped things along, and soon he was one of this — to him — absolutely new group. The effect was evident in his entire attitude toward his work.

I have in mind a lad of eleven years. His teacher said he was a chronic case of sulks. He was the only child of a prominent city physician, and could have had all the things that ordinarily delight a boy's heart. Other well-dressed and good-mannered boys in his grade in school possessed no attractions for him. He did not respond to their friendly advances, but kept out of their games and by himself.

One winter's night he came in late wearing a dirty, ragged suit of clothes. He was made to change them, but gave no reason for his strange appearance. Again the same thing happened. A teacher of large soul and detective characteristics followed this clew and discovered the keynote of D.'s character. Over on the other side of the city was a group of boys who were ragged, unkempt, the gamins of the streets, boys who slept in ash-barrels and doorways. To these boys D. was wont to go, using his money for food for them, giving them his choicest books, and occasionally wearing home their clothes that they might have his. To these boys he was a young prince and to him they were the real thing. Here there was no outside coat of fine manners to annoy him, no rivalry in studies, no snobbishness. He found them self-reliant, fearing nothing, and self-

supporting, though by means often questionable. In short, D. had found his primary group. They needed him but he also needed them. He loved reality and not pretense. So were the cravings of his boy heart ministered unto, while his sense of brotherhood found expression.

Can Congenial Groups Be Constructed?

Since congenial groups are so potent to either hinder or advance the interests of a school, the question arises how far a teacher may work in such a group among his pupils and so help to determine its policy; also whether he may not bring together the pupils who will make a group of a desired kind. The testimony is conflicting on both of these points. Doubtless something depends on the age of the pupils, and much on the personality of the teacher. Some teachers should never attempt it, but they may nevertheless be good teachers, like the principal mentioned on page 108.

. . . Neither society as a whole, nor its personification in the teacher can say: Go to; let there be groups. Let us put so many in one group and so many in another. Let us select individuals according to their capacities, and give them work that will be suited to their needs. No, a real social group cannot be reduced to a mere instrument of the teacher, a means or a method for accomplishing certain preconceived purposes. It is necessarily too many-sided for that. . . . — Scott, *Social Education*, p. 16.

After the graded school had been in session a few weeks a boy from a rural school entered the sixth grade. He was backward in his school work the remainder of the year and seemed little interested in matters connected with the school. The following year the new teacher seated him with the most brilliant pupil in the grade, with the result that the two boys became close friends. The new boy began to take more interest in things, first in his studies, then in the games. Before the end of that second year he was enjoying school and doing work which won him the respect of the other boys in that room.

I have found that up through the fourth grade it is important that the teacher be included in the "we" feeling. The children like to have some older person join in with them and be interested in all they do.

But in the fifth grade and beyond it is not so important. The children then begin to assert themselves and want to be left alone. I know a case where a seventh-grade teacher, a young man, sought to gain admission to a group of boys. As soon as he came on the playground there was an air of aloofness; anyone could see that their play was half-hearted. One day after playing with them a few minutes he went into the schoolroom. While he was still within earshot he heard one of them say, "Gosh, I hope he stays there and don't come buttin' in again." The teacher took the hint and did not try to play with the boys after that.

I do not believe that groups can be constructed; they must grow. The group is composed of kindred spirits, and persons who are not possessed with this spirit cannot become members. The children themselves must decide who is to be in their group; a parent or teacher cannot do it. I remember my grandmother wanted me to play with three girls, and the girls' mammas were equally anxious to have me play with them because the other children in the village were Protestant. But I did not like the three girls and they had no love for me; I preferred the society of two Protestant girls in spite of my grandmother's entreaties.

When I was seven years old we had a Sister for a teacher who was a member of our congenial group. At recess she played games with us. We told her all our little tales of woe and she sympathized with us. The order in the room was as nearly perfect as possible. We knew the rules and were very careful not to break them lest we should displease Sister B. The next term our beloved teacher didn't return. The new teacher had been in the room only three hours when we decided that we could not have her in our group. The first thing she did was to change the seating. Now all of "us" had been sitting together, and when we were separated we vowed revenge. Not a lesson would we study; we did everything we could think of to annoy her. It seemed to us that she was trying to make things disagreeable for us.

Congenial Association Apart from Groups

The congenial groups described in the foregoing extracts have been groups of children or young people, for, as has already been noted, the grouping of mature persons is obscured by their pursuit of remote ends. It might be true to say that most men in middle life do not belong to congenial groups.

Men do not usually have congenial groups, but I knew two men, farmers, who were inseparable. Every evening when their work was done they would meet and talk. When one went to town the other usually managed to go, too. On Sunday they would stroll over their farms, or take a walk through the woods looking for game or berries, or do something that would keep them together.

But most men nevertheless have a great deal of what might be called congenial association, provided they were trained to it by membership in congenial groups during their childhood. They have the "frequent face-to-face communication for the sake of the enjoyment they find in it," only they get it incidentally in the pursuit of more serious ends. They rarely form the intimate friendships of their earlier years; both the need and the capacity for that sort of thing have passed away. They have learned instead to meet various kinds of people, strangers as well as old acquaintances, in an easy, enjoyable sort of way; from this comes most of whatever growth they make in opinions, ideals, and interests.

The traveling salesman is perhaps the best example of this. He gets his congenial association, not with any small and constant group as does a child, but with the thousands whom he meets incidentally, some by appointment and some by chance, many whom he never met before and will never meet again. Ability to do this is the condition of success in his vocation. It is not enough merely to appear, for politeness' sake, to enjoy meeting all these people; the true traveler really does enjoy it.

This congenial association not only comes incidentally in the pursuit of serious ends; it has its function in the pursuit of those ends themselves. Communication on the most serious business in the world can accomplish its purpose of leading to like-mindedness and concerted action only in so far as there is sympathy between the parties, some common ground to start from. Now sympathy is easiest started in matters of mere enjoyment. Note the story-telling and

laughter that usually go on between two or more men in the midst of their consideration of sober affairs. In this respect Abraham Lincoln was typically human. Then there is the eating together, and the drinking, and the smoking; the automobile ride, the game of billiards, the theater party — all ostensibly for mere enjoyment; but in the mind of the promoter they are often a means of establishing sympathetic relations as a basis for communication on weighty matters.

Educational Application

In education, as well as in business and politics, congenial association must ever hold a large place. If the merchant will buy of a traveling salesman what he would never order by mail from a catalogue, much more is the sensitive mind of the child dependent on direct communication for what is learned. The teacher is more of a necessity to education than the salesman to business. Books, periodicals, and correspondence schools can never do as much of the teaching as catalogues and mail-order houses do of the selling. Often we hear a pupil say, "I cannot understand this when I study it by myself, but I can when it is explained in class." Moral and æsthetic truths especially are learned through the sympathetic touch of personality; they must be seen actually at work in the life of another person; the learner may perchance then discover them at work in his own life. The things of durable value must be floated up to the threshold of attention by the agreeable trifles of congenial association.

Herein lies the reason for one of the qualifications which is almost indispensable for success in educational work. Especially superintendents, inspectors, and supervisors must be adepts at developing congenial association apart from definite groups. They need to be able to get into sympathetic relations with all kinds of people. Unless they can mix enough good fellowship with their suggestions and directions to make interviews with them agreeable, they are liable to be-

come taskmasters, or perhaps only detectives. The same is true of classroom or grade teachers, only they have a definite group of children to meet and therefore more time to develop a working adjustment with each child; but that also means time for the novelty to wear off and for antipathies to develop. The supervising officer with a subordinate whom he cannot bring into sympathy with himself is usually able to avoid personal interviews. But the teacher has no such escape: an adjustment must be made with every pupil in the room, and the presence of one pupil between whom and the teacher there is a fixed antipathy may make congenial association between teacher and pupils in that room an impossibility, and so reduce the work for all to mechanical grind.

This subject of small groups and the reactions which occur between persons who meet face to face is deserving of investigation. Students who are looking for thesis subjects in sociology or social psychology are invited to take notice. It makes a universal appeal, it is fundamental to all social organization, and its professional importance extends to other occupations besides that of teaching. Girls' congenial groups are especially suitable for first-hand study because there is practically nothing in print about them.

Topics

1. "What differences have you noticed between boys and girls as to the kind of primary groups they form?"

2. Describe cases you have known where boys and girls were in the same congenial groups.

3. Describe cases you have known in which it was desirable for a teacher to study play groups or gangs existing outside of school.

4. Give the history of some primary group you have known well, preferably one of which you yourself were a member. (To be written but not read in public.)

5. Report orally to class on Cooley's three chapters in which his doctrine of primary groups is developed. Topic 1 above and problem 4 below are from a leaflet of "Study Questions" which he has prepared to go with *Social Organization.*

Problems

1. Must congenial groups always grow, or can they be constructed?
2. How often are they identical with formal organizations such as a baseball team, literary society, fraternity, an entire class or grade?
3. May a congenial group within a class or grade be helpful to the school? Is it desirable to divide a class occasionally into its component groups, and to let the groups work simultaneously while remaining in the same room?
4. "How far and just how do you think that play-groups should be recognized and fostered in the public schools?"
5. Should the teacher seek to gain admission to the congenial groups of the school?
6. May the school be a good school even if the teacher never fraternizes with the pupils? Give examples.
7. Is it more important in some grades than others, and with some kinds of subject matter than others, that the pupils should include the teacher when they say "we"?
8. In a case of the kind referred to in the last sentence of the second paragraph from the end of this chapter, should the superintendent relieve the situation by transferring the pupil? Should that much concession be made to personal antipathy, or should all be made to understand that they must overcome their antipathies or get along with them the best way they can? Write up some case you have known.

References

Bernheimer and Cohen, *Boys' Clubs*. Chapter X, pp. 81–94, treats of girls' clubs.

Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 23–57.

Educational Review, Vol. 43, pp. 168–191, R. C. Hill, "Secret Societies in High Schools."

Ellwood, *Sociology in its Psychological Aspects*, p. 346.

Ferris, *Girls' Clubs*, pp. 42–70, The "Members of the Club."

Fiske, *Boy Life and Self-Government*, pp. 107–118, 169–191.

Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 376.

Gunckel, *Boyville*.

Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 74–77.

Johnston, *The Modern High School*, pp. 498–516, J. C. Hanna, "High School Fraternities and the Social Life of the Schools."

King, *Education for Social Efficiency*, pp. 141–149.

King, *Social Aspects of Education*, pp. 236–263.

O'Shea, *Social Development and Education*, pp. 248–264, 295–315, 493–498, 509–515.

Puffer, *The Boy and His Gang*.

School and Society, Vol. 4, pp. 49, 292, 313, 363, articles on excessive sociability among students.

Scott, *Social Education*, pp. 1–22, 94–101, 102–169.

Smith, *Introduction to Educational Sociology*, pp. 49–56.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL MIND

. . . The social mind is the phenomenon of many individual minds in interaction, so playing upon one another that they simultaneously feel the same sensation or emotion, arrive at one judgment and perhaps act in concert. . . . — Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 134.

This is a general statement, for societies of all kinds and sizes, of what the congenial group illustrates on a small scale. There must be some similarity beween the persons to start with, some like-mindedness; this is true of the members of any society, large or small. But the larger society binds its members less completely in a common life than does the small group. This is because the large society unites its members only by some one interest, perhaps narrow and remote, while the small group unites them by many. There is a great difference in the kind of communication which nourishes the mental life of groups. In the congenial group it is direct communication; in the larger groups it is more or less indirect. Direct communication and congenial association play some part in any society, even the largest, and a very important part at that, as we shall soon see; but the interaction between a numerous or widely scattered membership must, of necessity, come chiefly through indirect communication, and almost exclusively so if the membership be both numerous and widely scattered.

The careful reader of course notes that the term *social mind* is figurative; though it is quite generally adopted in the literature of sociology, care must be taken lest it entrap

us. It may not be superfluous to remind the reader that there is no social brain. The social mind is not really *a* mind at all; it is only the partial agreement of a number of minds under the influence of communication. If we wished our terms to be accurate rather than suggestive, *social influence* would be better; but the advantage of *social mind* is that it challenges attention and makes us think.

The function of the social mind in social organization will appear in the chapters immediately succeeding this. It may be noted here, however, that a population must develop a social mind before it can constitute a society. "It is not at all necessary," says Macy, "that history should be true in order to be useful." [1] A story, later found to be mythical, like the legend of the founding of Rome, may serve a useful purpose in uniting a people upon a certain view of themselves and the part they are to play in the world.

. . . What won the battles on the Yalu, in Corea and Manchuria, were the ghosts of our fathers, guiding our hands and beating in our hearts. They are not dead, those ghosts, the spirits of our warlike ancestors. To those who have eyes to see, they are clearly visible. . . . — Nitobé, *Bushido: the Soul of Japan*, p. 188.

. . . The conduct of every person is continuously conditioned by the presence and opinions of others, and especially by the judgments of his friends. The young man who, though not interested in missions, subscribes liberally to a missionary collection, because by his side sits a young lady who is active in missionary enterprises and whose favor he wishes to secure, is an example. . . . — Bogardus, *Social Psychology*, pp. 52, 53.

The direction of ambition is socially determined. We want to be winners at the game that is being played. The small boy's springtime obsession for marbles is gone long before fall, because "the boys aren't playing marbles any more." . . .

. . . Nature does not give us a conscience any more than it gives us

[1] *The English Constitution*, p. 257.

a language, but only the capacity to acquire one; social evolution and education must do the rest. . . . — Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 665–667.

Causes

What brings about this agreement? Some agreements come from causes which are too obvious to require explanation: all people eat; the Esquimaux like animal food; the Hindoos want none of it. The same human nature which is in all of us gives us common needs, and the generations of people who have lived before us learned more about how to satisfy those needs than we can ever discover for ourselves, so that in many respects the mere following of our desires leads us in the footsteps of our predecessors. But other agreements are not so obvious although they also may find a basis in location and human nature. Why does Boston want eggs with brown shells, while New York wants eggs with white shells? Why do all of the English-speaking people use a cumbrous system of weights and measures when there is a much better one at hand? Why was the First French Republic, which put the metric system in operation, unable to establish an improved calendar with a week of ten days instead of seven? To understand these things we must resort to man's tendency to imitate his fellows, to form habits, to avoid ridicule, to fear supernatural powers. "The coercion of an epithet of contempt or disapproval," says Sumner, "is something which it requires great moral courage to endure." [1]

It is in the play-day of childhood that social sympathy, a social sense, and social habits are evolved. . . . Through association, there arises toleration; what we first oppose, we may later learn to tolerate. . . .

In associating with the fellow members of our own groups, we learn that they have the same feelings, the same thoughts, the same willingness to act as we. . . . — Bogardus, *Social Psychology*, pp. 104, 105.

[1] *Folkways*, p. 179.

. . . Dwellers in mountain fastnesses or in the open plains find their activities determined, as is their physical horizon, by the prospects that confront them. The sea molds occupation and character alike. The insularity of Great Britain comes to be a psychological rather than a geographical trait. All local habitations worthy of a name — and not abused Boston alone — come to be states of mind rather than positions on the map. . . .

The source of the psychology of the mass expression — the collective *psyche* — lies in the gregarious habit of the human kind. Men in groups think otherwise, act otherwise, and are moved otherwise than are the component members in their individual responsiveness and capacity. . . .

. . . The fact that modern schoolboys are far better equipped to understand, utilize, and control the forces of nature than was Aristotle is not due to the superiority of the schoolboys but to the contributions of the Aristotles of past generations. — Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, pp. 421, 433, 509.

Intricate Development

The development of the social mind of a particular society up to a particular point is an intricate process. Like the underground course of the water which appears above ground as a spring, or the relative positions of the ships of a fleet during a voyage some time past, it can be traced in detail only by inference from the result and such other data as are obtainable. A complete restoration is impossible, especially if it be undertaken after the lapse of time.

Several years ago I was one of seven — that was the number as I count them up now — who provided themselves with copies of Wundt's *Outlines of Psychology* and met bi-weekly to read and discuss it. I know who proposed the plan to me, but where he got it I do not know, nor do I know his present whereabouts so that I could find out. Two others of the seven are away; who proposed the plan to them and what motives they had in joining I know not except by inference, though I might perhaps find out by working at it enough. But who was present at any one meeting, or just how many meetings were held, or what anyone learned of anyone else, are questions which could scarcely be answered now.

And so the social mind of even a small group is clear in only a few broad characteristics; the details of it are for the

most part shadowy and soon pass into oblivion. In larger groups the complexity of the process increases much more than in proportion to the number of members. All of this comes home to us with special force when we attempt to do a bit of research work in history from the original sources.

Just as the origins of any phase of the social mind are shrouded in mystery, so also are the results. We know that there are results: there is a kind of conservation of energy in the psychical and social world as well as in the physical. We may assume that every member of that group of seven became a different man because of it, and is still passing on the influence of it to others every day he lives. But in what way he became different, or just what influences from that group he is passing on to others, he may not be able to say definitely, and much less can anyone else. Just as the waters of a spring mingle with those of the river and then of the ocean, so the thought of a group soon merges in the common thought of humanity, contributing whatever distinctive quality it has at the same time that it loses itself, though that quality is so combined with others as to be inseparable, and perhaps unrecognizable.

Varieties

When we come to distinguish varieties of the social mind it is difficult to avoid confusion. The varieties which merely run parallel to the varieties of society already distinguished — size of group, etc. — may be disregarded here, because social mind is the underlying force which builds the societies.

Duration

The quality with respect to which it is easiest to have a scale of marking is duration: some states of mind may be classed as temporary and others as permanent, with every grade of variation from the one to the other. A person enters a schoolroom quietly from the rear. The pupils near by

hear and turn their heads to look; this attracts the attention of others, and they turn to look, until nearly all in the room have had their look — perhaps ten times as many as heard the original disturbance. Anyone in position to view a room full of people or a crowd outdoors can see wave after wave of movement start and spread, some to die out soon and others to extend to the uttermost limits. This is what the teacher watching the children on the playground is able to see. But the interesting thing is not the mere movements, as of the colors in a kaleidoscope; it is the mental processes which the movements reveal — the plans, hopes, fears, attractions, repulsions, the triumphs and the disappointments, the trickery and the loyalty. It is as interesting as a drama, only it is real life and not mere play.

Then — to take something lasting a little longer — there is the attitude of a class during a recitation. Some incident at the beginning gives a character to the work of the entire period. The incident may be a trivial one.

> The first question was put to Josephine. In answering she unintentionally made a pun on her own name. This gave us all the giggles and we did not settle down to serious work during that recitation.

> After recess (during which the teacher kept in a boy for breaking the line in the march out when he was wanted in a game of baseball between two grades) nothing went right. The pupils all whispered incessantly about how mean the teacher had been to Johnnie. Nobody recited well, and the teacher was so cross that when four o'clock came the pupils almost ran out of the room to get away. — O'Shea, *Social Development and Education*, p. 509.

For each day, also, the social mind of a school has a certain cast. A circus in town, a theater party the night before, an impending election of officers in some society, some freak of the weather, a talk by a visitor at morning exercises, an inspiring song: these are examples of the things that give character to the day. It is not necessary that the determin-

ing circumstance, say the freak of the weather, shall affect all the members of the school. If it affects a few, these will influence others, and these still others, until all are practically compelled to adjust themselves in some way to the passing mood. This may come about, too, without anyone knowing the cause, or even being aware that anything unusual is happening.

A large undertaking, like preparing an exhibition, giving a play, or holding a contest with another school, fills the minds of all for days in succession, even of those who have no part in it, thus interfering seriously with scheduled work, but at the same time establishing a fellowship, a sympathy between the members of the school, teachers as well as pupils, which may be useful in later work. In other words, such an event develops the social mind. The time it takes may be well spent, like the time the football team spends in practicing signals.

Depends on Personnel

More enduring phases of the social mind in a school continue until the personnel changes. A term in school sees as much change as a year in business or politics, and a year in school is sometimes equal to a generation in the larger world outside because in that time an entire change in the personnel may occur. Every teacher knows that no two classes are alike. Each class has its own peculiar attitude toward the teacher, the study, and many other things besides. One of the fascinating occupations of the teacher is to watch the development of these attitudes and to try to account for them. Often the attitude is determined by a single member of the class. This is most easily seen when the influential member either enters or leaves after the term has well begun.

In one case I noticed a great change when a member of the class withdrew to teach after having been with us a month, though I had not been aware before that she had been setting the pace for the others.

I had an extremely indifferent class. About the middle of the second quarter a girl entered from another school who was bright and interested. At first some of the old members of the class were jealous, next they began to wake up. This quickened the pace of the whole class and in time most of them did better work.

The class had been working splendidly. One day one of the girls was absent and did not come back for several days. The class was dull and lacked initiative. No questions were asked; no discussion could be started. The attitude of the class grew worse from day to day, though the teacher tried hard to work up some spirit. When the girl returned the class livened up and all went well again.

I have two divisions of a seventh-grade reading class. They do not manifest the same interest nor accomplish the same work day by day. One has more class spirit, strives to outdo the other, and usually keeps ahead.

I have two writing classes in the practice department, the Sixth A and the Sixth B. I use the same lesson plans and writing copies for both classes, but there is a marked difference in the work of the two. The A's are noisy and careless; the B's are quiet and diligent, doing their work as well as the A's and sometimes better. The A's seem to think I am not capable of teaching the subject.

I have two drawing classes, Sixth B and Sixth A, so different in attitude and work as to be hardly believable. The younger class is by far the better. I account for it first by the fact that the pupils are from better homes. The Sixth A class is upset by three pupils who have gained a reputation in lower grades for that sort of thing. The strongest of the three in making for disturbance either talks all the time or else is dropping materials on the floor, thus keeping the class in a state of irritation.

Superficial or Fundamental

Related to this quality of duration, but still distinguishable from it, is the depth of the causes from which the social mind emanates. The cause, at least the immediate one, may be very superficial, a mere trivial incident, but it may develop a permanent aspect of the social mind.

In my practice class the children would play with their ink wells when I was not watching. One day Gladys tipped the ink all over her new dress. That trouble has practically ceased.

In a certain small town some of the people held a critical attitude toward the teacher. One day one of the children fell and cut his head quite badly. The teacher dressed the wound and sent the child home. That evening she called at the house. That was the beginning of chats at gateways and other calls in which teacher and people met. Soon the attitude toward the teacher was entirely different.

A teacher had considerable difficulty with discipline; the boys were continually in mischief. One day one of the older boys took a paper wad, dipped it in ink, and fired it at the teacher. It hit squarely on the front of her white shirt waist, making a huge spot of ink. The room was still as death; the pupils expected to see the teacher fly into a rage. But instead she stood perfectly calm and went on with the reading lesson as though nothing had happened. It was such an impressive lesson to those boys, showing them her dignity and power, that they never gave her any more trouble but rather became a help.

In the last two cases, though the occasion of the change in the social mind was superficial, the cause was really fundamental: the character of the teacher was there all the time, but some appropriate incident had to come to make it evident. So also probably in the following case, although the circumstances are not given:

At one time the principal of the high school I attended was a good-looking man who also taught well, so that every one had a good opinion of him, the town people as well as the students. Later in the year, however, he displeased them very much and he then seemed just the opposite of what he did at the beginning of the year. This shows the transient nature of popular impression.

Popular Impression

Popular impression is the form the social mind takes with reference to matters of small importance, or to those of slight and passing interest. The average person receives communications every day on a great variety of subjects.

They come chiefly from two sources, newspapers and light conversation, but in either case the subject matter is what the newspapers call "news." There is time to look critically into only a few of these many communications, yet each one makes an impression on the mind. If the subject matter is of small importance or only passing interest, communications on it will soon cease, leaving the first superficial impression to be the final one for a long time, and perhaps for always. Yet the stream of new communications, of some kind or another, runs on continuously in fairly constant volume; the newspapers have about the same amount of space to fill each week and each of us indulges in hearing and delivering about the same amount of small talk. And so there is continually forming in each individual mind, around the core of definite knowledge, a wide fringe of mere impressions which are only rudimentary or inaccurate knowledge. In the fringes of many individual minds popular impression has its existence. On the new topic of the day it is quickly formed, and also easily changed as long as attention is held; but once attention is lost, as it soon must be, whatever impression remains becomes exceedingly difficult to change.

Public Opinion

When the subject matter is sufficiently weighty and permanent, then popular impression merges into public opinion. Discussion is the process by which this takes place. Popular impression is never unanimous. Neither is it divided into two or any other number of distinct phases. It is simply uncertain, hazy. If the question will not down, serious talk ensues, both formal and informal; sober periodicals publish expositions; evidence is adduced for this, that, and the other view; some experience — "the logic of events" — does much to clarify public consciousness. At last some one view becomes predominant; society "makes up its mind" and public opinion is formed.

The teacher was having a great deal of trouble with one boy. He was bright in his studies and well liked by his classmates. But they observed his conduct and began talking about it among themselves. They discussed it from all sides, and finally decided that the boy was to blame. Then they were uncertain what to do about it. After a great deal more discussion they decided to make it plain to this boy that they would not stand any more of such conduct. They called a class meeting at which several of the boys made speeches. They made it very plain to this boy that the class were behind the teacher. He made no more trouble after that.

Mass opinion carries individual opinion along with it; the individual who will not go with it, at least in external behavior, is obliged to take a definite stand against it. In this way society becomes organized on a large scale so that it can accomplish big undertakings. All has its basis in effective communication.

In the auditorium one morning all those were asked to stand who wished to subscribe to the school paper. A number of girls stood so they wouldn't look as if they cherished their money too highly, although they had no intention of taking the paper.

It was proposed to bond the city for $800,000 for new school buildings and improvements on old buildings. The schools closed the day before election and had a great parade. The children marched through the streets carrying banners and singing songs which told what they wanted and why. Everybody was interested and turned out to see the parade. They also turned out the next day in equal numbers and good will, for an enormous vote was polled giving the schools what they had asked for.

But public opinion, like popular impression, is usually not unanimous. While some differences disappear under discussion, others are intensified, and new ones keep appearing. A difference gradually shapes itself as a definite proposition or question which can be answered by yes or no. If the question is an urgent one, public opinion becomes sharply divided into the two phases, *pro* and *con*, and on this definite issue the discussion continues. After a time one of the two

sides may win, and then the question disappears. Or the question may be found unanswerable at the time because of lack of evidence. Thus in 1910 and 1911 there was a public opinion in Wisconsin favoring some kind of schooling for children from fourteen to sixteen years of age who have permits to leave the regular schools and go to work. It was not till 1912, however, that a law could be passed providing for continuation schools. Since then there has been some opposition to the opening of new schools, the hiring of additional teachers, and the rigid enforcement of attendance at the schools. The discussion is on the details of the law rather than the principle of it. In time these will also be mostly settled and the question will cease to attract public attention.

Popular Sentiment

The state of the social mind with reference to a question which was settled long ago is more fundamental than what is ordinarily known as public opinion. It is rather a "latent prepossession," or a popular sentiment. It exists in the subconscious mind rather than in consciousness, but is none the less real. Take for instance the question whether a city should have a high school supported at public expense. That question was discussed to a finish in this country over half a century ago. The social mind is made up on that point and no longer gives any attention to it. But if anyone is rash enough to challenge it, say by proposing to cut down appropriations for the high school, while good arguments in reply may not be forthcoming at once, popular sentiment in opposition will flare up suddenly with menacing power. Politicians, editors, clergymen, salesmen, school principals, and others whose vocation requires them to meet many people, need to know what these prepossessions are and avoid running against them.

The questions which cannot be settled by discussion in-

volve attitudes of the social mind that are still more fundamental. There are, first, the questions in which the interests of sections, classes, and sects are opposed. While slavery existed, the interests of slave-owners made them opposed to emancipation, even though many of these owners admitted that slavery was an evil. When Pennsylvania became a manufacturing state it wanted protective tariff to make better prices for its products; the cotton-growing South marketed its products mostly in foreign countries and from them bought its supplies which, of course, it wished to have taxed as lightly as possible; while New England was commercial it was free-trade, but when it turned to manufacturing it became protectionist. Need we wonder that the tariff controversy is never settled? Public school teachers always think that their wages should be raised, and most of their friends agree with them; but the officers of the city's finance department, with the protests of the taxpayers in their ears, stand opposed. The Catholic and the secular views of education are simply irreconcilable. All of these are questions which can never be talked to a finish. Any true public opinion regarding them can be found only among a neutral public, and that opinion is likely to be that such questions should as far as possible be kept out of politics, so that their discussion in public may be avoided. The interests of section, class, and sect are permanent phases of the social mind which can be changed only by changing the conditions at their roots.

. . . Why is political discussion forbidden in certain clubs? Because it results in a clash of feeling rather than of cold intellect, and it can run to any height of passion without nearing a decisive test on fact. — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, p. 135.

Declaring that to be a male school teacher was "the crowning misfortune of the present dispensation," some 400 male school teachers decided at a dinner held . . . last night to fight for economic survival through direct political action.

The teachers applauded appeals to them to seek to influence elec-

tions and control votes. They cheered when the toastmaster said the number of votes they could control would approximate 20,000.

As a definite policy of aggression, it was agreed that all men teachers in the city should be appealed to to fight for recognition of the Association of Men Teachers and Principals, such as is now given by employers' associations to trades unions in closed shops. . . .

"We are not automatons who merely respond in a mechanical way to orders from above. . . . Our association should be recognized by the Board of Education. A voice in the board is none too good for us. We are teachers and we can teach others how to vote. We get paid only 70 cents on the dollar for the work we do. . . ." — *The New York Times*, January 12, 1913.

Moral Sentiments

The most fundamental and enduring forms of the social mind are the moral sentiments. In principle they start in the primary group, are much the same in one country as another, and persist through all time. They have their roots in human nature. But since they are defined by the social mind, they vary superficially according to the conditions of time and place. The uniformity is greatest in the rules which regulate the relations between the sexes and between parents and children. Equally universal, but with more variety, are truthfulness, kindness to neighbors, respect for human life and liberty, loyalty to the state, and regard for property. The last six of the Ten Commandments give a concise statement of the most important ones. The analysis of these sentiments, with the explanation of their origin, belongs to ethics. The frequency with which supernatural or superhuman origins have been ascribed to them is evidence of the keenness of the need for them which was perceived by reformers and lawgivers, and subconsciously by entire peoples. Their use is to conserve the supreme values of life. Civil laws and judicial penalties only enforce on the degenerate or untrained members of society the rules which the social mind prescribes for all and which normal persons obey because they are sharers in the social mind and have respect for it.

A boy in one of the schools of my home town was a fine football player and had been the pride of his class. But one day the teacher caught him cheating in examination. The incident leaked out and lost him the respect of his fellows. He was put off the football team, for they said, "A boy who will cheat in his exams will cheat in his games."

A child's conscience grows out of his social experience, wherein he has been made to realize through the reactions of people upon his expressions that certain actions may be freely performed, while others must be restrained. As he matures, the concrete factors are gradually eliminated and the remaining feeling, reënforced by lessons from history, literature, art, and religion, suffices to guide conduct . . . he gains a feeling for certain kinds of *ideal* conduct. . . . Consciousness on the social side is thus a kind of theatre in which our friends and acquaintances, the public in general, and characters derived from literature, history, and art, constitute the audience and pass judgment upon our performances. — O'Shea, *Social Development and Education*, p. 85.

Moral questions, however, are overlaid by those of etiquette, and also by those of religion. These three phases of the social mind are closely intertwined, and often no distinction is made between them: the attitude of the unreflecting person is the same toward all three, and some sociologists use the Latin word *mores* to designate them. Take the relations of the sexes, again, for example. The Oriental lady must keep her face concealed from all men except her husband, but she does not hesitate to expose her bare feet and ankles even on the street. When an Oriental gentleman, not accustomed to Western ways, meets a Western lady whose face is not veiled, he refrains from looking at her, even when conversing with her. To Occidentals these are mere matters of etiquette, but to the Orientals they are matters of morality or religion, or both. When we travel in the Orient it is dangerous to disregard them even in ignorance.

. . . For example, in the course of ages it became conventional for civilized people to wear clothes which on most occasions cover most of the body. In the course of time this practice became a part of the moral code of society, so that if a person in our Western world goes with as little

clothing as a savage, he is looked upon as an immoral person. So also with styles of dress. A new style comes in, like the slit skirt or the V-shaped collar in women's dress to-day. At first it is looked upon as immoral because it violates the conventional. . . . Let the custom of wearing clothes in a certain way become common, and any thought of immorality in connection with it will fade away. The conventional makes the moral in many cases. — Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, p. 229.

A friend of mine taught in a community where most of the people thought dancing to be wrong, although she was not aware of the fact. The people liked her very much and held her in high esteem. One Friday night she went to a dancing party in a neighboring town. The people heard of it and ostracized her from their society. So unpleasant did they make it for her that she gave up her work in that place.

Intensity: The Mob

The social mind presents various degrees of intensity. Most attention has been given to the brief but extreme exhibits in the form of mobs, which usually are the result of an encounter between a homogeneous crowd and persons of some different social mind. School life affords plenty of examples.

A teacher of mine once punished a cripple severely. The whole gang of boys were waiting outside to meet the teacher. He was angry and spoke against the cripple. The boys mobbed him before any help could arrive, and he left on the earliest train the next day.

The teacher punished a naughty boy. The boy needed the punishment, no doubt, but the teacher lost control of himself and gave the punishment too severely. The boy's parents were aroused. They called on the school board and scattered the information about the small town. In less than twelve hours the whole place was aroused: mob indications could be seen and felt. The affair could not be settled until the teacher had resigned his position.

A boy in the junior class in high school had some trouble with his Latin teacher. It lasted about two weeks, and then the teacher thought she would end it by suspending the boy from the class. The whole Latin class rose in arms and refused to come to recitation unless the boy

was readmitted. When this did not work, the whole junior class — it was a large one, so large that some of its members were not even speaking acquaintances of the boy in question — went on a strike. The principal expelled the whole class from school. The parents then interfered and the board of education said that the class would have to be taken back to school. A year from the day they were expelled they celebrated the anniversary with a party and invited the Latin teacher to chaperone them.

Mob phenomena are becoming less frequent among adults as people become more accustomed to live in close intercourse with their fellows and as their interests become more diversified. Modern communication puts each person in connection with so many others in whom he comes to have a vital interest, though they may be far removed from him in space or time, that the crowd about him can less easily carry him away. In a complex society, too, mobs are seen to be dangerous. A sentiment is cultivated that is unfavorable to the mob spirit, regarding it as a mark of a low state of culture. When the city man finds himself in a throng he braces himself against any mob spirit which he may see arising. Persons experienced in dealing with crowds, like policemen and ushers, know how to handle them. Direct opposition to a unified group, as in the above illustrations, only intensifies their attitude; while self-possession, good nature, and sympathy with them favor peaceful adjustment. A crowd is saved from becoming a mob if it is turned into a deliberative body — has a chairman to keep order and committees to plan its action, all in accordance with the rules for parliamentary procedure which are generally known among adults. But children are only in the process of learning the ways of civilized society, and so every teacher, especially every principal, needs to understand crowds and mobs.

I saw a mob two years ago composed of high school and normal boys. Though the feeling ran high over a game that had just been played, yet when two of the boys began to fight, the others tried to stop it instead of encouraging it or joining in it themselves.

A new principal came to open the high school. The boys were already in possession of the room, and were raising a great uproar. After vainly trying to get order, the principal telephoned to the superintendent. When the superintendent arrived, he took the situation good-naturedly. He began talking to the boys on the front seats and got their attention. Then those farther back listened to hear what was being said. Soon the room was quiet.

Moderated Forms

As the mob spirit is brought more under control — civilized, suppose we might say — milder forms of the social mind become more important. Professor Ross has given us the best analysis of these, with more accurate meanings for some of the new terms used to designate them, such as *craze* and *fad*. Some forms or instruments of amusement, the teddy-bear, for example, have their vogue and then pass away. Among school children there is a fairly regular cycle of amusements extending through the year: marbles and roller-skating in the early spring, baseball and flowers in the later spring, tennis and water sports in the summer; in the fall football for the boys and playing "house" for the girls; in the winter the making of Christmas presents starts constructive work of all kinds. Of course the season has its influence in determining the kind of play, and ultimately controls, but it is safe to say that nine tenths of the children who play marbles in the spring would never do so without the influence of other children. Fashion in dress is a mild form of the social mind, yet now that modern communication has made it world-wide, it dominates the dress of a majority of the well-to-do people everywhere, including the children. The etiquette is somewhat more rigid and less fluctuating. Religious beliefs are at the extreme of the intense forms of the social mind that are also enduring; but their influence, like that of the mob, is declining; they are also losing some of their intensity, thereby acquiring the milder character of morality or even of etiquette. Now that any group, no matter how small

and select, is obliged to have frequent intercourse with all sorts and conditions of men on the outside, the intense sectionalisms and sectarianisms and partisanships are being moderated.

Social Mind Based on Feeling

Now that the foregoing discussion is completed there is a large qualification which must be made to it. The qualification applies with special point to what was said about public opinion and popular sentiment on pages 133–137, although it is really the background of the entire chapter. These processes of the social mind have been represented as matters of cold intellect, because that is the easiest way to convey a provisional view of them. But the psychologists have been teaching us for the last quarter century that we are all guided more by feeling than by intellect, and the social psychologists have shown how people in the mass act with very little intellect except as they are organized. Therefore popular sentiment matures through the stages of popular impression, discussion, and public opinion, only in a settled society, with reference to some new matter of large importance, and among the more responsible leaders of the population. Most talk, even when serious, is not debating real issues, and there is little public opinion in the sense of a clearly defined belief. Among the masses there is simply a common feeling which has been partly handed down from the past and partly developed by recent experiences. The few who do not share the feeling make no open protest, or if they do are promptly silenced. It comes to the individual mostly by suggestion or as the affective accompaniment induced by his own actions. When every member of the school gets out on the grandstand and yells himself hoarse cheering for his team, or is compelled for weeks to perform all kinds of extra work to prepare a school pageant, there grows up in the school community a feeling of loyalty which has little basis in a rational balancing of

the school's merits and demerits. This school spirit, local patriotism, *esprit de corps*, becomes a very real thing when each generation of students takes pains to pass it on to its successor. Old buildings, trophies, relics, songs, yells, and ceremonies help to keep the tradition alive. The ordeal connected with the initiating of a new member into a fraternity, although it may be absurd and even dangerous, finds some justification in that it is a never-to-be-forgotten experience which all the other members have been through.

Gradually, also, the sense of being a part of a school dawns upon the child. For instance, a school exhibition or entertainment is arranged and each pupil feels that it is a collective undertaking and takes pride in the impression made by *his* room or by *his* school. . . . — King, *Education for Social Efficiency*, p. 142.

The operation by which folkways are produced consists in the frequent repetition of petty acts, often by great numbers acting in concert or, at least, acting in the same way when face to face with the same need. The immediate motive is interest. It produces habit in the individual and custom in the group. . . . — Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 3.

. . . Rhythm is the great get-together agent of the world, the mightiest ally of the belonging instinct. It is essential even to physical coöperation of the closest sort. . . . You cannot get a big trunk into a cart or a dory down the beach; you cannot go, in anything, beyond what one man, or a succession of men acting severally, can accomplish, — except as you induce the Muses to act with you. . . .

. . . When people sing or march or dance together, each knows with accuracy, as in the ring game, what all the rest are doing and are going to do and in great part how they feel about it; and each knows that the other knows — and so on; to the depth that the song or movement goes the mutual understanding is complete. . . .

. . . Every college has its song or yell — the two species of vociferation are not always distinguishable. Every successful nation, church, fraternity, has its anthem or its rhythmic ritual. . . .

Rhythm has the power of kindling the social imagination. It enables people to project forward a given purpose with that warmth and reality that make it feasible. . . .

. . . It is of vital interest to the State that its children be given full

opportunity to form these infant commonwealths and to sing and dance themselves into the spirit of them. — Lee, *Play in Education*, pp. 159–163.

Rational Like-Mindedness vs. Formal

Giddings makes a useful distinction between "rational like-mindedness" and "formal like-mindedness." The like-mindedness of a group is formal when it comes down out of the past and is accepted by the members without question; some of them may not even be aware that there are people different from themselves. But communication with other groups reveals the differences, and differences stimulate discussion. Now discussion leads at once to trouble unless differences are tolerated, and necessity may demand that trouble be avoided. Discussion, therefore, is a constant exercise in toleration; the minority must not be silenced, much less persecuted. In this way discussion leads to rational like-mindedness, to grouping on the basis of opinion. Questions which cannot be settled by discussion must either be excluded altogether, just as religion is at a mixed reception, or else they must be referred to some judicial tribunal for settlement. Intense like-mindedness of the temporary kind, as in a mob, rarely gains headway now, because habits prevail which are unfavorable to it. Intense like-mindedness of the enduring kind, like fanaticism or bigotry, when not deliberately excluded from discussion, becomes toned down into various shades of rational like-mindedness. The social mind is then less positive, less liable to sudden outbursts, but vastly more intelligent and capable of adjusting itself to new conditions. It becomes public opinion in the best sense.

A people who, like the Russian peasantry, accept only a unanimous decision as binding, have advanced a very small way in political development. The discovery that "counting heads would save the trouble of breaking them" marks one of the greatest advances that mankind have made in their hard upward course. . . . — Ritchie, *Principles of State Interference*, p. 74.

The bitter rivalries that formerly existed between schools have been much moderated with the coming of inter-school contests in athletics and oratory. These contests, being carried on by responsible organizations and under carefully prepared rules, have done much to establish rational like-mindedness among students in place of formal like-mindedness. The unregulated hazing that once infested our colleges has now either disappeared or else been brought under control; student life has been diversified with a variety of organizations; the surplus energy has been drawn off into legitimate channels. Faculty and students are less frequently at odds since their representatives began to meet as members of committees and other governing bodies of organizations which are run primarily by the students. At such meetings, along with the serious discussion to achieve rational ends, there is small talk about weather, theaters, and other mild subjects, which builds up a subconscious social mind in the form of sympathy, good-fellowship, a readiness to believe that the member of the other group is thoroughly human and can be touched by a rational appeal.

Average Opinion *vs.* That of the Most Competent

How do the various members of a group contribute to the formation of its social mind? The belief is widely held, supported by some eminent writers, that the social mind is a sort of average of the individual minds. Lecky, the English historian, maintained that democracy means government not even by the average but by the lower classes. During the past century the tendency has been toward a higher estimate of the social mind, as shown by both the theory of politics and the practice of it. But it has remained for Professor Cooley to show the fallacy of the old aristocratic view. Anyone can find this out for himself who will observe how some small group whose operations he can follow makes up its mind: a group of girls gathered to make fudge, some

boys translating their Latin together, the junior class picking out a team to play the seniors at basketball. Far from following the average of intelligence and ability, the group seeks out, by discussion, or trial, or otherwise, its most competent members, and these it follows or puts forward as its representatives. Those who know nothing about the matter in hand ask advice of others who know; those whose judgment has been found reliable in the past are listened to with respect; the most competent members show up one another's good points, sometimes unwillingly; the less competent members have little to gain and much to lose by putting themselves forward, and in the end ability is pretty certain to have a preponderating influence in determining the result. Occasionally, of course, a member is misjudged by his fellows, but probably no more often than he is by his teachers.

Cooley makes a useful distinction between general public opinion and special or expert opinion. General public opinion, and by that he means the opinion which prevails in a numerous population, sees things in a large way only; it changes slowly, and can give attention to only a few questions at once — ordinarily to only one. All the details of knowledge and action must be left to special public opinion. Thus a class votes to have a picnic. It may go so far into the arrangements as to decide on the time and place. More likely, however, it will appoint a committee to look up these matters and all the other necessary information. The committee may be required to report one or more plans for the class to consider, or it may be appointed with power to act so that no further action by the class as a whole will be necessary.

But the mind of a large group is not made up when an inner group of the most competent members has been found. Each member of this inner group has his individual opinion which differs in some respect from the opinion of every other member. Some one opinion must stand out preëminent. It may be a composite of several opinions, but it must appear finally

as one — clearly defined, free from inconsistencies. Picking out this final opinion, formulating it, and presenting it so that it will win approval is nearly always the work of a leader. The leader may not be the one who knows the most; he may select the opinion of some specialist, or form a composite of several opinions. He must see the situation clearly; he must propose a plan which others can understand and put into execution. In order to inspire confidence he must be positive — showing no doubt that his plan is the best; he must be fearless — ready to meet any opposition, including opposition to the adoption of his plan; he must have resources — ability to overcome opposition and get results; he must be trustworthy — careful of the welfare of others, not likely to make selfish use of what others put into his hands. Along with these qualities he may be egotistical and selfish, but provided his self is big enough to take in the group, his "I" is always "we"; in other words, he must be loyal. The leader is the one with the nervous system which responds best to the stimuli that play through the group and who therefore best sums up in his own personality all the power of the group.

Public opinion, expert opinion, and leadership are so closely intertwined that they are best illustrated together.

A number of girls here at school thought it would be the finest stunt to give a hallowe'en party at M.'s boathouse. They asked B. (a teacher) and he advised them to consult with the president. The president said he had discussed the question with others and deemed it unwise to give the party.

In a high school seven girls of wealthy families tried to run things in arranging for the annual "prom." For a while they had control; the others, though in the majority, were afraid to go ahead and assert their power. But when it became known that the seven girls were to appropriate the decorations for another party of their own, the others became angry. A meeting was held in which the faculty assisted. The public opinion of this group was such that no one of the seven girls appeared at the prom.

At B. several years ago the principal was out on the playground almost every day, coaching the boys in their games and sometimes playing with them. The boys learned from him the real meaning of sport, got a clearer idea of justice and fair play, and showed in many ways that the instruction outside of the schoolroom was worth as much as that inside, and perhaps more. But one day the school board notified the principal that such undignified action must stop, that it was unbecoming in one of his position, that the boys called him by a nickname when out of hearing, and that the parents had objected. But he, instead of complying with the wish of the board, continued his outside work. For this he received the lasting gratitude of the pupils, the praise of the county superintendent, and a high recommendation from the state inspector. The district flatly refused to reëlect him, but he secured the principalship of a high school, and is now ranked as one of the able educators of the state.

In this case the public opinion of the village was uninformed. The principal took the responsibility of appealing from it to the expert opinion of his superior officers and to the more intelligent public opinion of the county and state.

Of the girls in a sewing circle some were wealthy and some were from the working class. The girl who started the circle was one of the latter. She did beautiful work and was always ready to show the others how it was done. She was always the first one to try something new. The rest of us looked up to her as our leader.

We boys wanted to see a show. Our leader found a place where it was possible to crawl in under the tent. He collected the rest of the gang and gave instructions about how it was to be done. He had the ideas and the executive power to put them into operation.

The country boys attending a high school were looked down upon by town urchins, and therefore banded together for mutual protection. There was no organization at first, only a common bond of sympathy. Any one of us was ready to come at a moment's notice to the assistance of any member who was in trouble.

When we organized a baseball team we chose the smallest fellow captain. He had moved from the city to the farm, had played ball since he was large enough to hold a bat, and was well versed in slang so that he could talk back to the town boys. We copied his ways and followed his advice. From him we learned the value of strategy. Best of all he

instilled into us the idea of teamwork: "The part for the whole and the whole for the part."

I was on a ball team in a village in D. county. "Slabby" was our manager, by unanimous choice. He was a clean sportsman, strong and active, witty, ambitious, ingenious at inventing schemes to deceive opponents without infringing on the rules. "Doc." was our captain. His strong points were loyalty and good fellowship. Afterward I was away for three years attending the Normal. When I returned to the village as a teacher I was readmitted to the gang. I had gained greater efficiency in athletics, better address in meeting strangers, and more literary ability. I became manager in a few weeks.

As a result of our interest to perfect ourselves in baseball we gave so much time to practice at school that we seldom caused the teacher any trouble. At noontime we would play, and at recess when there was not time to start a game we would choose sides for the next game. Truthfulness and honesty were required of the members. Any one delinquent in this respect was looked down upon, and if persistently so would probably have been thrown out of the team.

One of the boys had exceptional ability in athletics. Whenever he pitched against my side and I was at the bat I was not vexed because I could not hit his balls but was spurred on to develop my ability in batting. I often watched his action in delivering the ball. When my opportunity came to pitch I would try to get the curves and speed he did by imitating his actions. When he came to bat I would watch his quick and accurate motions. All the players were trying to acquire his form just as I was. We all considered him as the leader. He was instrumental in making the rules to regulate the game. When discussions arose he usually rendered the decision.

The fact that the leader is a function of the situation, as well as a dominant exponent of it, gives rise to the wide divergence of interpretation as regards leadership or prestige. To some he seems a mere cork floating on the current of the common will; to others he seems the entire situation, and they would write history as the biography of great leaders. Both are partly wrong and partly right. He does indicate the set, which holds him in the same grasp as it holds the others. He expresses a situation. But he is not a mere cork. He contributes volitional definiteness and precipitating energy to the set to a greater extent than the other factors. He is important, therefore, in the effectiveness and organization of the common will. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 19, p. 25, J. E. Boodin, "The Existence of Social Minds."

Topics

1. Describe some case in which the tone of a school was changed by a single event.
2. Describe some case in which the attitude of a class seemed to be determined by a single member.
3. Describe some instance in which the standing of a teacher in a community was changed by a single incident.
4. Describe some occasion when a school became a crowd or mob.
5. Discuss some biography so as to show the relation between individual mind and social mind.
6. What does J. Mark Baldwin mean by *social heredity?* See his *Social and Ethical Interpretations*, pp. 59–63.
7. What does Ross mean by *social control?* See his book by that title, especially pp. 7–46, 146–195, 291–349.
8. What did W. G. Sumner mean by *mores* and *folkways?* See his book, *Folkways*, or Keller, *Societal Evolution*, pp. 25–42.
9. Summarize O'Shea's discussion of the way the sense of justice develops among children. *Social Development and Education*, pp. 88–112, 455–463.
10. Summarize the analysis of the social virtues by Hayes, *Introduction to Study of Sociology*, pp. 588–595.
11. Present Cooley's theory of public opinion. *Social Organization*, pp. 121–148.

Problems

1. Show that school, class, or society spirit conforms to the definitions of social mind. Also local pride. National patriotism.
2. What is the function of literature in developing the social mind? Is it desirable that certain works should be agreed on as standard or classic even though there may be others not so ranked which are really as good?
3. Would you say the same of prominent buildings? Of characters and events in history? Should the history of the state always have a place in the curriculum of the elementary schools?
4. Is there danger lest the standardization of thought go too far?
5. See topic 8 under Chapter III (p. 54). To what extent are the qualities of immigrants the result of the environment out of which they have come?
6. What is the relation of education to the social mind? Define the school curriculum in terms which have been elaborated in this chapter.

References

The subject of this chapter has been treated by sociologists with great fullness; and because there is so much good reading on it, this book gives less space to it than its importance would warrant. To get a well-rounded view the student should therefore do more collateral reading on this chapter than usual.

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 19, pp. 1–47, J. E. Boodin, "The Existence of Social Minds"; 531–555, C. S. Gardiner, "Assemblies"; Vol. 22, pp. 306–323, E. A. Ross, "The Organization of Thought."

* Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 329–337, social mind; 338–348, psychical activities; 220–238, evolution of ethics.

Coffin, *The Socialized Conscience*, pp. 37–43.

** Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 3–22, 121–148.

Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics*, pp. 51–72, group morality.

Ellwood, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, pp. 79–94.

Fairbanks, *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 101–118.

Fite, *Individualism*, pp. 98–131.

Giddings, *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 124–185.

Giddings, *Elements of Sociology*, pp. 53–87, 119–171.

* Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 132–152.

Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 70–73, 77–83, 301–322, general discussions; 389–397, custom and fashion; 323–332, prestige; 588–595, the social virtues; 634–637, public sentiment; 357–382, analysis and classification of the forms of the social mind.

Leopold, *Prestige*, especially, pp. 322–338.

Lowell, *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, pp. 3–54, "The Nature of Public Opinion."

McDougall, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, pp. 209–227.

Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws*, Book XIX.

Outlook, Vol. 119, pp. 659, 660, 664, 665, Canfield, "Hats."

Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 100–148.

* Ross, *Social Psychology*, pp. 43–337.

Scott, *Social Education*, pp. 281–298.

Sidis, *The Psychology of Suggestion*, pp. 297–308.

Small, *General Sociology*, pp. 425–523, 546–549.

Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, pp. 363–379.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL CLASSES

A class is really definable only upon the basis of its mores; the code is the class. Terms like bourgeoisie denote a standard of behavior, a set of ideals, in short a standard of living, which is in the mores. Its code is the only distinctive thing about a class. . . . — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, p. 86.

. . . Bu-shi-do means literally Military-Knight-Ways — the ways which fighting nobles should observe in their daily life as well as in their vocation; in a word, the "Precepts of Knighthood," the *noblesse oblige* of the Warrior class. . . .

Chivalry is uneconomical: it boasts of penury. . . . Hence children were brought up with utter disregard of economy. It was considered bad taste to speak of it, and ignorance of the value of different coins was a token of good breeding. — Nitobé, *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*, pp. 4, 97, 98.

. . . Wherever there is an ascendant class, a large portion of the morality of the country emanates from its class interests, and its feelings of class superiority. . . . — Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 18.

A class is a stratum of the population having a social mind of its own — a class consciousness. But social mind, as we have just seen, grows out of communication. This chapter must therefore work on both sides of the preceding one: it must note the conditions which make for close intercommunication within one stratum of the population and for little communication between it and other strata, thus giving rise to class consciousness; it must also note the reaction of class consciousness on communication and the social life in general. Class consciousness and intercommunication within the class, therefore, work together cumulatively. They are like the fire and its draught; the hotter the fire the

stronger the draught, and the stronger the draught the hotter the fire. The intensity of class consciousness varies with the degree of social isolation of the class. On the other hand, free communication with other classes tends to diffuse and break up those peculiar qualities of the social mind which constitute class consciousness.

The football players work together in their practice. This common experience and the incidental communication develop a class consciousness, which in turn is likely to cause them to sit together in the classroom and herd together at a reception. Each member of the squad comes to know whatever traditions and conventionalities the group as a whole possesses, not only with respect to football, but to all sorts of unrelated matters as well.

The first town I taught in was a lumber town where the people were continually changing. The class lines were very loose. Strangers were soon taken into whatever society there was. I might meet persons of any class at any gathering I attended. There were several homes in which we teachers were welcome callers. The second place where I taught was a German village where for years few changes had been made. The children or grandchildren of the first settlers still held much of the property, and new families came rarely Here strangers remained strangers a long time. I taught there considerably over a year before I felt that I was in any sense a part of the town.

Open Classes *vs.* Castes

The two examples just given also illustrate the two kinds of social classes, namely, castes, in which membership is determined by heredity, and open classes in which membership depends on competition. The great example of a caste in this country is the negro race.

A woman came from New Orleans with two children. When she took them to the D. school to be enrolled she asked the principal if there were any colored children in the second and fourth grades — the ones in which her children were to enter. The principal informed her that there was a colored boy in the fourth grade. The children were not enrolled. They then attended the normal training school.

There was a negro in our football team. Every team we played against would play hardest on the negro. In several games he was hurt so badly that he had to be taken from the field.

When I was in the kindergarten two mulatto children came. They were bright and well dressed. For a while they shared our play as fully as any of us. But when our parents learned about it and we heard their remarks, we began to hold aloof from the two children. At last they were left almost alone.

Speaking of race differences, I am reminded of a colored pupil who attended the graded school in which I received my early education. He was bright in his studies and led us all in athletics, though both younger and smaller than the rest of our group. He became quite a favorite with us, especially because he was so good at baseball and football. There was surely no fundamental difference here.

While we cannot deny that there may be fundamental differences between races, these selections remind us that caste is after all, as Cooley says, a psychical organism; the heredity is more social than physical, and therefore children do not observe the caste lines until they catch the spirit of caste from their elders. This truth is more apparent when we deal with a hereditary class which has no obvious physical mark. For instance the country, neighborhood, and family in which an individual grows up leave their traces on his language, manners, and other habits; a stranger meeting him may decide from these whether or not he is desirable company, without waiting to learn his deeper qualities. Such mild forms of caste are found more or less everywhere.

Some farmers about my home have tenant houses in which poor families live. Sometimes Greeks and other immigrants come to weed sugar beets. In every case that I can remember the children were just as bright in school or play as any children.

Near my home is a Bohemian settlement. The very old people came from Bohemia. The next generation took the ways of their parents. They do not seem to care to associate with the people of other nation-

alities. The children are dressed as their grandparents were. Now, however, I think this will change, for the children are going to the public school and associating with other children and learning their ways.

"Let's show these jays how to do it," said one bright town girl to another as they went at the arrangements for a school reception.

When individuals or families rise to a higher station they sometimes try to cover the traces of their origin by putting on the superficialities of aristocracy. Those with newly acquired wealth most often do this, and women more often than men. Daughters are sent to private schools to learn "certain punctilios of upper-class propriety in manners and customs," to be trained for the "obvious killing of time in aimless and wasteful fatigation." But the ferment of modern life is at work among the women as well as among the men, and the better schools for girls now teach domestic economy and the social sciences so as to prepare for "some other than an invidious purpose in life." [1]

Heredity and Occupation

Social heredity also extends to occupations.

The relative pull of the father's trade on his children in comparison with the pull of any other trade is found to be as three to one. . . . Based on 2415 answers to a circular letter (English). — *American Economic Review*, Vol. 3, p. 764.

The owner of the large manufacturing plant at my home has a son who started at the bottom to learn the business and has risen steadily upward. He will be able to assume the responsibility of management when his father retires.

Not far from my home lives an old man on a large farm. His grandfather was born on that farm, his father was born there, he himself was born there, and he has a son who was born there. The son attended the agricultural school at Madison and now works on the farm with his father.

[1] These apt phrases of Veblen's are taken from his *Theory of the Leisure Class*, pp. 338, 339, 344.

In the same community lives a retired farmer whose father was a shoemaker. He has three sons and two daughters. The farm on which they formerly lived is situated near the station so that the children had a good opportunity to attend higher schools. One of the boys is now a lawyer, one a dentist, and one a mail carrier. One of the girls is a trained nurse and the other is preparing to be a stenographer. The farm is now in the hands of strangers.

As this last example shows, universal education, the movement of people from place to place, the supplanting of old trades by mechanical inventions, and the great variety of occupations now open to young people are diminishing the tendency of children to follow the occupations of their parents.

Classes Based on Wealth

Where caste is not established the most self-conscious classes are the rich and the poor. This has been especially true since the industrial revolution has widened the distance between the extremes of wealth and poverty, at the same time facilitating communication horizontally along the upper strata. A professional class is likely to be broken up in its class consciousness according to the wealth of the patrons whom its members serve: those who teach the children of the rich usually have more fellowship with their patrons than with the teachers of the poor, while the teachers of the poor are almost of necessity shut off from association with their more prosperous colleagues.

During the last century the expansion of Europe has let loose upon its old land-holding nobility countless winners of new fortunes made in foreign trade, colonial exploitation, railroad building, manufacturing, and the seizure of natural wealth all over the globe — gold fields and diamond fields, mineral deposits, nitrates, forests, and water-power. Under plutocratic pressure the aristocrats have had to open their ranks and admit to the charmed circle, if not the new rich, at least their children. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, p. 75, Ross, "Class and Caste: Equalization."

Income, for instance, classifies people through creating different standards of living, those who fall into the same class in this respect being

likely to adopt about the same external mode of life. It usually decides whether men live in one quarter of the city or another, what sort of houses or apartments they inhabit, how they dress, whether the wife "does all her own work" or employs household help (and, if the latter, how much and of what sort), whether they keep a carriage, whether they go into the country for the summer, whether they travel abroad, whether they send their sons to college, and so on. . . . Note how difficult it is for two people, congenial in other respects, to converse freely when one has an income of $5,000 and the other of $500. Few topics can be touched upon without accentuating the superficial but troublesome discrepancy. Amusements, household, and the like are hardly possible; the weather may supply a remark or two, perhaps also politics, though here the economic point of view is likely to appear. Religion and philosophy, if the parties could soar so high, would be best of all. . . . What I mean, however, is light, offhand, sociable talk that does not stir any depths. As between their wives the situation would be harder still, and only an unusual tact and magnanimity would make it tolerable. — Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 250, 251.

A young man in my home town became heir to a fortune when he was eighteen years of age. Although the money was not at his immediate disposal he had an allowance each year to do with as he liked. Before this he had been "one of the boys" and was well liked by everyone. Afterward he pulled away from his old associates until he barely recognized them on the street. After graduating from the high school he went to the university. On returning home at the end of his first year there his isolation from his old friends was complete.

A group of high school girls had been meeting Saturday afternoons. Dissension arose between those from wealthy homes and those from poor. The rich ones withdrew and organized a separate society meeting Friday evening.

Although the rich man usually leaves the bulk of his fortune to heirs, still the recipients of large incomes are not yet in this country a distinctly hereditary class. Families with earned incomes are nearly everywhere regarded as the social equals of the families with incomes from inherited property, except possibly in a few of the oldest and largest cities. When we consider the well-to-do class, rather than the wealthy, we find it without doubt an open class: any man of capacity

and character has been able to reach it unless held back by some exceptional handicap. Poverty in itself, especially in young persons, is no stigma, because everyone in middle life and beyond has known so many, most often children of immigrants, who were poor only from lack of opportunity to develop and in whom it was a temporary condition from which they soon escaped.

> The economic condition of the pupil is shown to be relatively a minor factor in continuance in high school. The wealthiest, the poorest, and those with monthly rentals from $27.00 to $37.00 stay in school about equally long. Practically all of the common talk about the economic factor in elimination is thus shown to have been mere speculation in the case of New York high schools. . . . — Strayer and Thorndike, *Educational Administration*, p. 53.

The student who has read the foregoing discussion of caste and class with a background of historical knowledge doubtless perceives that a great change has come over the world. Caste counts for less; functional class counts for more. The weighty fact in determining your station in life is not who your parents were but what you yourself can do. Modern life is competitive beyond all precedent, not alone in war and industry, — its old fields of operation, — but also in every other organized form of human activity. Communication acquaints the young person with what is going on in the world, thus giving him a chance to know of the work demanded for which he may have a talent, and facilities for technical training abound. This change is not complete yet, though it has been in progress for several centuries; the chance is not equal for all, nor do all succeed in overcoming their special handicaps, but the drift of things is unmistakably toward the recognition of talent wherever it is found.

Classes and Education

Of course this shift of all special organization from the hereditary to the competitive basis makes education more

complicated. Formerly each caste had an educational system all its own. Any teacher knew exactly the kind of career for which he was expected to train his pupils. In the lower classes always, and in the higher classes to a great extent, the young person learned the ways and wisdom of his class simply by growing up in it, receiving instruction incidentally from parents or fellow workers. Discipline was necessarily rigid because the individual had to conform to his class whether it suited him or not. The competitive system, on the other hand, in allowing each individual to choose his career, puts the discipline and government of the schools on the basis of democracy. The individual then needs to find out his natural capacity before he chooses his career; to help him do that, and to give him the kind of training needed, the educational system must now be responsible.

Since the school does much to perpetuate or obliterate class feeling, teachers should know in which direction to turn that influence as far as they are able to control it. They may take their cue from the foregoing discussion — in fact, they are already taking it from the spirit of the age. Since caste does not comport with the modern organization of society, it finds little favor in school. A fair chance to every pupil is the watchword. The teacher is disposed to give special assistance to the pupil who is handicapped by poverty or lack of familiarity with the vernacular. Like the miner hunting for gold, the teacher studies the nature of the indifferent pupil to find the inborn capacity which can be aroused and put to work. Since occupational classes are of the essence of modern social organization, the school may properly set the pupil to thinking early about his future vocation, to reading its literature, to associating with older persons who are successful workers in it, so that he may acquire the appropriate mental attitude. A part of this attitude, that toward other occupations and the public, is best acquired in school.

. . . But there was once assumed a permanent division between a leisure class and a laboring class. Education, beyond at least the mere rudiments, was intended only for the former. Its subject-matter and its methods were designed for those who were sufficiently well off so that they did not have to work for a living. The stigma attached to working with the hands was especially strong. In aristocratic and feudal countries such work was done by slaves or serfs, and the sense of social inferiority attached to these classes naturally led to contempt for the pursuits in which they were engaged. Training for them was a servile sort of education, while *liberal* education was an education for a free man, and a free man was a member of the upper classes, one who did not have to engage in labor for his own support or that of others. The antagonism to industry which was generated extended itself to all activities requiring use of the hands. A "gentleman" would not use his hands or train them to skill, save for sport or war. To employ the hands was to do useful work for others, while to render personal service to others was a badge of a dependent social and political status. — Dewey, *Schools of To-morrow*, pp. 231, 232. Copyrighted, 1915, by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

. . . The son of the wealthy man sits in the same class with the son of the laborer. In Washington we saw the son of the President of the United States, two grandsons of the late President Garfield, and many children of members of Congress, sitting and working in the same classes with the children of coachmen, gardeners, laborers, etc. Not the slightest difference is observed in regard to these children; they mix in the classes and on the playgrounds on terms of perfect equality. . . . — The Mosely Commission, quoted in *The Outlook*, Vol. 77, p. 114.

. . . We would not perpetuate false ideals of caste, but we must preserve in some form that compactness of social structure, capable of receiving and transmitting definite standards of behavior, on which the influence of caste depends, and without subjection to which the child is denied the most important element in education. — Lee, *Play in Education*, p. 377.

Teachers as a Class

The social standing of the teacher in the community is a subject of some importance, especially for the woman teacher. Do the leaders in the community regard the teacher as their

social equal, or as an inferior kind of employee? How this question is habitually answered involves more than the mere satisfaction the teacher can take in her position. It goes far to determine the attitude of the pupils toward her, and therefore toward their school work; also to determine the usefulness of the teacher in the community outside of school.

"I suppose we shall have another d —— farmer for a teacher," said a girl in the training school as the end of the quarter approached.

In Z. the teachers are not considered inferior exactly, but they are ignored socially. I never heard of any one calling on a teacher because she was a teacher. But in G. B. the teachers are invited to parties and all forms of social activity. The parents of the school children call on the teachers and entertain them in their homes.

M. used to be noted for the way teachers were taken into the best society and made to feel at home. A lady who used to be a social leader, when asked about the change in this respect, gave two causes for it. One is that she herself is too busy to attend to her social duties as she formerly did. The other is the change in the character of the teachers. Formerly M. paid its teachers the highest wages paid anywhere in the state, and the teachers were always socially acceptable. Now M. is noted for the low wages of its teachers, and many of them are so uncultivated that the social leaders do not care to receive them into their homes.

I have a cousin who is teaching in a small village in F. County. They think so much of her that they arrange every party, dance, or wedding at a time when she can be there. It happens that most every one in the village is a Protestant and she is a Catholic, but that does not seem to make any difference. When the church has a bazaar or supper, or they celebrate the minister's birthday, she is the first to be invited.

Where I taught in South Dakota the people of the district came to the school late one afternoon for a social time, bringing plenty of good things to eat for a treat to the children and to show their appreciation of the teacher.

In small towns teachers are the élite. I have taught in two such towns where a week seldom passed in which the teachers were not en-

tertained by someone. The banker, the merchants, and the doctors seemed to think it a privilege to do something for us. When we expressed the wish to visit the quarry, the railroad camp, and the logging camp, the crews at these places sent us invitations to take dinner with them, and the ex-assemblyman and his wife offered to go as our chaperons.

There were a hundred and twenty-five teachers in the city where I taught. In order to have a chance to mingle and get acquainted we organized a Teachers' Club. A reading room was fitted up and provided with facilities for amusement.

Teachers should remember that entrance to a social circle is like welcome to the fireside of a friend — something which must come freely, it cannot be demanded as a right. If my neighbor does not ask me to dine with him, or if his wife does not return my wife's call, it is not for me to ask the reason why. Neither should I complain if I am not invited to join the West End Whist Club; that is something which cannot be forced, though I may perhaps do something to qualify myself for membership if I really care for it. I qualify myself not only by exhibiting the qualities which the group prizes, but also by attending public meetings where the members are found so that I may become personally known to them, and by scrupulously conforming my conduct to the usages of the group and the community. I must remember, however, that there are limits to the size of any group. The number of intimate friends one person can have is limited, and so is the number of members in a given social set; to enlarge the number is to change the relationship and perhaps spoil it. The West End Whist Club may have its membership full, with other candidates on the waiting list. The persons who are denied admission to any particular group always have the liberty of organizing another.

When teachers have the scholarship and culture that their work demands of them they are able to be rather independent in such matters. They have learned to find companionship in books. They have the society of their pupils, which

means much to a true teacher. Teachers have one another to associate with, and fortunately the places where wealth or rank of any kind can afford to be exclusive are likely to have enough teachers to make up a varied company by themselves.

It must be admitted that teachers sometimes develop qualities which chill their welcome into polite society. Their occupation requires them to be critical, especially in such commonplace matters as the pronunciation of words; therefore when a person who is not sure of himself meets a teacher he is either guarded or defiant. They are expected to be models of propriety, or at least free from improprieties, and that tends to make them self-conscious. Accustomed to present a limited body of knowledge to immature minds, they are liable to hold limited views themselves, to be "academic," opinionated, intolerant of those who differ from them, and at the same time to be weak in meeting a new situation. Their work confines them closely and does not bring them in contact with people of other callings; in that way they may fail to cultivate the etiquette, dress, and "small talk" which are in vogue at the time, and that failure, more than anything else, marks them as peculiar when they are among strangers. In all of these respects persons in other callings of equal scholastic training, such as lawyers, physicians, clergymen, and educated business men and women, have an advantage over the classroom or grade teacher. They also, except the clergymen, have the advantage over the teacher in respect to income, so that they keep up a higher standard of living. Against this list of disadvantages the teacher can count on two advantages: he is assumed to be a person of the highest character, and his work is assumed to be of far-reaching benefit to the public. The net result, the balance of advantages and disadvantages, is often unfavorable to teaching. Many teachers, accordingly, prefer not to be known as such when they are among strangers; when a new acquaintance dis-

covers the truth and says, "I never suspected it," that remark is accepted as a compliment.

On the other hand, it should be kept in mind that every occupation has its disadvantages. The compensations of the teacher are mostly of kinds which the public does not see, such as the constant association with the best that the past has produced. But the tendencies in teachers as a class which diminish their acceptability in the company of outsiders should be known and controlled in rational ways.

It may be well to note here that the easy-going conditions which the public sees in the teacher's work do not exist in fact. The short hours of programmed work, the weekly holiday, and the vacations, give time for doing only things which are as necessary as anything in the daily program.

Teachers of the lower ranks may take comfort in the knowledge that teachers of the highest rank, the university professors, also feel that as a class they labor under special difficulties. Tenure of position is a problem with them as it is with other teachers, though of course in a different way, and is a part of a larger matter, that of academic freedom. They feel their problems so keenly that in 1914 they organized The American Association of University Professors. This association holds annual meetings and has started the publication of a bulletin.

The "Intellectuals" or "Highbrows"

One of the curious instances of the materialized thought of the present time is the increasing reference on the part of the highly educated to the rich as "the privileged class."

This point of view cannot be sustained, whether the quality or the quantity of privilege is considered. The minute fraction of each generation which has lavished upon it all the best gifts that come of the infinite accumulated toils of literature, science, art, and the intellectual vocations is indisputably more privileged as to the human values intrusted to it than are the merely financial rich.

The highly educated are a smaller group in numbers than the rich. There are only about 200,000 college graduates in the United States,

while there are 350,000 incomes of $5,000 and over. Even leaving the more intangible values out of the account, the total power of the 200,000 and their total responsibility is certainly much greater than that of the 350,000. The overpowering financial preëminence of a few is likely to blind us in making a proper comparison on the whole. While, of course, there is considerable overlapping in these two groups, it is a significant fact that the acquirers of great fortunes are not likely to be highly educated men. . . . — *The Survey*, Vol. 31, p. 58, Robert A. Woods.

. . . There is no doubt but that in this body we have the greatest guiding and directing force in the development of our national life and civilization. . . . Though the college man forms no more than one hundredth of the total men in the country, he forms over fifty per cent of those named in "Who's Who," the best single measure we have of effective citizenship. — *The Michigan Alumnus*, December, 1914.

The number of college graduates, as given by Mr. Woods, is probably based on an estimate which was made a dozen years ago by Professor Willcox, of Cornell. An estimate made in 1914 doubles this number. Then the class of the highly educated also includes the graduates of many professional and technical schools. There is also a considerable number of persons who are self-educated, who by travel and private study have become as well acquainted with the world's best thought as the average college graduate. Teachers, journalists, and business men of many kinds, when they have the disposition, in time get a liberal education out of their vocation and thus enter the class of "intellectuals." It would not be far astray to say that there are a million persons in this class, or one in fifty of the adult population. High school graduates who have not gone on for advanced study constitute a secondary and more numerous rank of the learned.

This class of the highly educated has no name more common than the two slang terms used as the title of this section. Every country, and to some extent, every generation, has a favorite term for it: sophists, philosophers, clerks, humanists, *illuminati*, *literati*, *savants*. The class has no organization by itself except the alumni associations of the various

schools, colleges, and universities, the American Association of Collegiate Alumnae, a university club in an occasional large city or university town, and a loose organization of alumni secretaries. The common body of knowledge which is the product of the ages constitutes the substratum of their social mind, and to this a living vitality is imparted by the friendships which they formed during their student days, and for it the ancient buildings and sites of their *almae matres* provide the local habitations. In bringing about the nomination of Woodrow Wilson in 1912 this class, next to Wilson's own personality, was the largest single factor. However, it scarcely works as a single factor. The prestige attaching to the holder of a degree or to the graduate of any particular school never goes very far, and in some circles is replaced by opprobrium. Each member of the class simply counts for what he is worth in the office, shop, forum, or field where he does his work; if he counts for more than others it is because he has training in his hand, enlightenment in his head, and worthy purpose in his heart.

The biennial reunion of teachers and students of the "Old Red Brick" which occurred at Y. Thursday, was, like its predecessors, a notable occasion, which brought men and women from far and near to join in such festivities as the occasion never fails to produce. By ten o'clock the spacious high school building was filled and the round of recognition and hand shaking was under way. . . .

. . . One hundred and sixty people were seated at long tables placed in a large classroom of the Webster manual training school and in the long corridor connecting the high and manual training schools, and nearly a hundred more were served at a second sitting.

O., who succeeded Mr. S. as teacher, was next on the program and he declared that he had "come from Chicago to get a sight of Sam S." He referred to the fifty-one years that have passed since Sam S. taught school in Y. and declared that there must have been something worth while in a school, when after fifty-one years thirty-seven students came to meet Sam S.

. . . After all the speechmaking, adjournment was taken for supper. The evening session was full of entertainment, closing in time to enable

the Z. visitors to catch the last car. — Report of over two columns from a village of 1300 souls in the daily newspaper of a neighboring city.

The "Masses" or "Lower Classes"

. . . To put it simply: the masses must forever remain the masses. There would be no culture without kitchen maids.

Obviously education could never thrive if there was nobody to do the rough work. Millions must plough and forge and dig in order that a few thousands may write and paint and study.

It sounds harsh, but it is true for all time, and whining and complaining can never alter it. . . . — Treitschke, *Politics*, Vol. I, p. 42.

These two terms, like Treitschke's ideas, are relics of medieval feudalism. In the United States the terms are used loosely to designate those who do manual labor or whose incomes are small. But a person who has skill in doing a work for which the world makes a legitimate demand cannot be classed as "low" in any important sense: he holds a definite status in the social organization and is necessary to its harmonious operation. On the other hand, the man who has no skill in anything, or only in something so intermittent that he is unemployed much of the time, belongs at the bottom industrially and in various other respects as well. The natural result is that he and his family can share only imperfectly in the life of his time; they tend to be segregated with others of their kind into the stratum of the poverty-stricken.

. . . But from this point of view the chimney-sweep or road-mender gains in dignity, for he is rendering a service with which we cannot dispense. If he does his work skillfully and conscientiously, it is illogical to despise him.

On the other hand, from the social point of view, the envied idle rich not only have no claim to special consideration, but appear as the drones of a hive, the camp followers of an army, the stowaways of a ship, the deadbeats of a business. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, p. 81, Ross, "Class and Caste: Equalization."

The well-to-do and the educated are what they are because of inherited capacity: they have had the disposition and the energy to acquire the advantages which they possess. Herein exists whatever justification there is for a caste system. But it does not therefore follow that every poor or ignorant person is lacking in capacity. Two other conditions are also needful for entrance into any of the higher open classes: early surroundings to arouse ambition, and opportunity to carry it out. Perhaps the relation of the three factors is best stated another way: the capacity and the opportunity must fit each other, and then the ambition must be just the right one to set the capacity at work on the opportunity. Sometimes the capacity is strong enough to grow into an ambition without any special stimulus from the outside, and to find its opportunity even if none exists at hand. But for most persons all three factors must be present to give success. A little acquaintance with persons in humble occupations reveals much undeveloped talent; sometimes the person possessing it is not even aware that he has it.

Backward Communities

The earliest training of a child comes from his home and neighborhood, with the school supplementing these agencies a little later. The experience that will reveal his talents to himself may come in connection with any one of these. If the child lives in a good home, any noble impulse within him will receive stimulus however bad his neighborhood and school may be. A good school, even a single good teacher, will stimulate him in many directions and stands a good chance of hitting the right one, no matter how inferior the family and other surroundings may be. A good neighborhood, even a neighborhood with only one or two families in it of the right kind, may reveal the possibilities of life to the child of an inferior family who attends an inferior school. But if all of these helpful circumstances are lacking, then the entire

community is backward; human talents go to waste for lack of development; the exceptional young person who rises above the surroundings soon gets out of them and leaves the entire population to live on a low level. Such communities still exist in the older portions of the country in spite of modern means of communication.

A backward community is a mine of material for the artist. The human interests are more genuine there than where society is up to standard. Artificiality may exist there, but not so much of it. The artist can find people who are different from the prevailing type, and who will therefore interest the public when properly exploited. Cooper idealized the early frontiersman. Washington Irving humorously portrayed the New York Dutch. Edward Eggleston, in the *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, represented the crudity of society in southern Indiana. But we should remember that the artist does not represent the community with photographic accuracy; he interprets it; he selects the interesting features of it for vivid portraiture with just enough of other things to make a background. If the picture is humorous, the members of the community will pronounce it a caricature and feel that the artist is merely raising a laugh at their expense. If the picture is beautiful or sublime, the informed person knows that it is untruthful because the prevailing sordidness or narrowness has been left out. Even the scientific analysis of social inferiority is resented by the persons used as specimens if they chance to discover that they are so used. A friend of one writer mentioned in this chapter says of him: "The people of X. recognized their picture and were much incensed. I doubt if he would be welcomed should he revisit the scene of his investigations."

Although no picture can tell the whole truth, yet the conscientious artist makes the impression which he conveys true as far as it goes. Teachers of history, geography, and literature need to keep this principle in mind. Furthermore, the teacher or other social worker who goes into a backward community must, in order to be successful, get into sympathetic relations with the people; and this he cannot do if he either assumes patronizing airs or is known to be exploiting their backwardness for his own advantage.

What lends special importance to the segregation of the poor, the vicious, the criminal, and exceptional persons generally, which is so characteristic a feature of city life, is the fact that social contagion tends to stimulate in divergent types the common temperamental differences, and to suppress characters which unite them with the normal types about them. Association with others of their own ilk provides also not merely a stimulus, but a moral support for the traits they have in common which they would not find in a less select society. . . .

. . . The city, in short, shows the good and evil in human nature in excess. It is this fact, perhaps, more than any other which justifies the view that would make of the city a laboratory or clinic in which human nature and social processes may be most conveniently and profitably studied. — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 20, pp. 611, 612, R. E. Park, "Human Behavior in the City Environment."

Communities of immigrants may be backward, but for quite different reasons. The members have come with Old-World ideas, but they cannot continue to live the Old-World life. Neither can they enter fully into the life of this country: their communication is imperfect, their participation in industry is usually only as unskilled laborers, no matter how much Old-World skill and education they may have.

Even an imaginative American, I suppose, must find it very hard to form anything like a just idea of the tremendous adventure involved in the act of immigration. The alien in our midst is too elusive an object for satisfactory study. He changes too rapidly. But yesterday he was a solid citizen . . . in his ancestral background, surrounded by friends and kindred, apparently rooted in his native soil. To-day he is adrift in a foreign world, mute and helpless and tragically ridiculous — a soul in purgatory, a human creature cut from its moorings, the most pitiable sight to be met on this earth. . . . — M. E. Ravage, *An American in the Making*, p. 3.

I know a Greek who had been a school teacher in Asia Minor. He came from there in 1912 to avoid conscription in the Turkish army. He joined the colony of two hundred Greeks in our city, but the best work he could get was tending a wood-working machine in one of our factories. I made an appointment with him and one of his companions to take supper with me. The hour passed and my two Greeks did not come. Inquiry revealed that my friend was in the hospital, having had his arm drawn into the machine the day before he was to come to my house. The

two Greeks came later, however, and they were such perfect gentlemen as I had never entertained before.

A purely class-conscious strike with dollars-and-cents bargaining is hardly a factor. It is not an attack on the companies. It is direct warfare against the institutions of society. The strike leaders are idealists. They dream of a coöperative commonwealth. But they limit its benefits to workers alone. . . .

Why did the strikers walk out? They, themselves, could not give clear-cut, definite reasons. It is not forced humor or current jest to say it was a "psychological strike," for that is just what it was. Months before, a little group of men who had been reading de Leon, Trautmann, and others caught fire from the glowing dream of the "workers' coöperative commonwealth" to be brought about by "one big union."

. . . For twenty years socialistic propaganda had been working there. Socialists were gaining numerically until local municipalities elected their tickets. Furthermore, nineteen nationalities could be counted among the Westinghouse workers. These were no sodden peasants, dumb and stupid. They were highly literate. Many wrote in two languages. No plant in the country had a higher type of employees.

The only personal grievances the leaders may have had were unconscious. In these days of business organization of huge size, these men were left in the ranks. They had no outlet for their energies that was big enough to use up their force. In simpler days they would have worked into the ranks of "bosses" or been active in politics. Events proved that they were born leaders; untrained, impracticable and not masters of men, yet leaders. — *The Survey*, Vol. 32, pp. 463, 464, George V. S. Michaelis, "The Westinghouse Strike."

. . . The accepted facts are that there was an outbreak of civil war in East Youngstown; that in the gun-fire at least four men were killed; and that the conflict was between an organization of American employers and a mob of unintelligent and in some respects ignorant alien workmen. . . .

The town is a suburb, in the Mahoning Valley, of Youngstown, and has a population of 9700, mostly Poles, Lithuanians, and Serbs; but actual registered voters, we learn, number only 462! Those who really vote range from two hundred to three hundred.

So much for actual citizenship. How about education? The total school enrollment in this population of 9700 is reported as 1102. Of the 1102 only nine are reported to be in the high school and only twenty in the eighth or top grammar grade; there are 825 in the first, second, and third grades.

There are no kindergartens and there are no night schools.

When the Superintendent of Education was reproached with this last fact, he replied, so we learn, that "the Board of Education had refused a dollar for teaching foreigners." Nor had the Mayor of Youngstown, we are told, any plan to bring the dense masses of foreigners under Americanizing influences.

There are nineteen saloons, however, and in its thirst for drink the mob looted them. . . .

. . . Incredible as it may seem, there is no church whatever — Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, or Protestant — in East Youngstown.

. . . We Americans must arise to our responsibilities. We must develop without delay some comprehensive plan to handle the aliens who daily come to our shores. This is not a matter for an individual employer nor a single community, but for the whole country. These people from the countries of southern Europe must be taught our language, methods of sanitation, and clean living. They must be taught our laws and our customs. They must be encouraged to take an interest in the communities in which they live, and finally to love and honor this United States as their United States. — *The Outlook*, Vol. 112, pp. 168, 483.

In 1915 Frederic C. Howe, commissioner of immigration at New York, urged that July 4 be observed as Americanization Day, with exercises designed to foster patriotism in the hearts of our newly naturalized citizens. Evening or continuation schools teach language, history, civics, and geography to a small proportion of the men, but the great majority of them wait to learn the few essentials of these subjects from the hard knocks of daily life. The women resist Americanization longer because they are able to live more closely within the community. They rarely come to evening schools, though they much need instruction in American foods, household utensils, and ready-made apparel, and knowledge of English would make them better able to do a mother's duty toward their children. The danger of neglecting such unassimilated elements in the population became suddenly apparent when the United States entered the war in 1917.

In this matter of bringing a backward community up to

standard the schools do not accomplish what they might because they are often managed locally, perhaps by the backward community itself. The foreign ward in a city may have schools provided by the city, as good as those for any ward, but a backward county or town is at liberty to have backward schools if it chooses, though the state may offer inducements for improvement. The federal government can do little for a backward state which it does not also offer to the most advanced. Philanthropy can give financial aid; the Carnegie Foundation, for example, is bringing the backward colleges up to standard, while the General Education Board is bringing up the secondary schools of the South.

The Genuine "Low" Class

Nevertheless, hereditary capacity and incapacity really exist and lie at the basis of the well-to-do classes on the one hand and the poverty-stricken classes on the other. This has been pointedly illustrated by the contrasted histories of the "Jukes" family and the Edwards family, and still more pointedly by the account of the two branches of the "Kallikak" family.

> . . . Just before attaining his majority, the young man joined one of the numerous military companies that were formed to protect the country at the beginning of the Revolution. At one of the taverns frequented by the militia he met a feeble-minded girl by whom he became the father of a feeble-minded son. This child was given, by its mother, the name of the father in full, and thus has been handed down to posterity the father's name and the mother's mental capacity. This illegitimate boy was Martin Kallikak, Jr., . . . and from him have come four hundred and eighty descendants. One hundred and forty-three of these, we have conclusive proof, were or are feeble-minded, while only forty-six have been normal. The rest are unknown or doubtful. Among these four hundred and eighty descendants, thirty-six have been illegitimate. There have been thirty-three sexually immoral persons, mostly prostitutes. There have been twenty-four confirmed alcoholics. There have been three epileptics. Eighty-two died in infancy. Three were criminal. Eight

kept houses of ill-fame . . . in spite of the fact that they mostly lived in a rural community where such places do not flourish. . . .

Martin Sr., on leaving the Revolutionary Army, straightened up and married a respectable girl of good family, and through that union has come another line of descendants of radically different character. These now number four hundred and ninety-six in direct descent. All of them are normal people. Three men only have been found among them who were somewhat degenerate, but they were not defective. Two of these were alcoholic, and the other sexually loose. . . . There have been no feeble-minded among them; no illegitimate children; no immoral women. . . . There has been no epilepsy, no criminals, no keepers of houses of prostitution. Only fifteen children have died in infancy. . . . — Goddard, *The Kallikak Family*, pp. 18, 19, 29, 30, 68.

Here is the caste principle clear enough. The present generation of the bad branch of the family are what they are, not so much because one thirty-second part of their blood came from that feeble-minded girl, but rather because the successive generations of her descendants have lived in a certain social current, mating with persons like themselves and bringing up their children to ways like their own. Likewise the descendants of that wife have been respectable and prosperous because they have mated with their kind and brought up their children in an atmosphere of respectability.

In cases of this kind the interest of society calls for encouragement of the caste principle. When the defective classes mingle freely with other people they become the tools of the criminal classes; unable to make a living honestly, they try to do it dishonestly. In neighborhoods where these people collect we often find the worthy poor living alongside of them because it would cost more to live anywhere else; occasionally also we find persons of the highest character and intelligence — some of the whitest souls on earth — bound there by affection or some necessity. But the combination of feeble-minded, criminals, and the poverty-stricken makes the lowest stratum of society. The social mind of it must be described in negative terms: low intelligence, low standard of living, disre-

gard of law of all kinds, degrading rather than refined pleasures, lack of high ideals, little energetic effort. Cooley does not rank the poor as a class because they lack the energy to develop a current of thought of their own, which would be still more true of defectives. But nature abhors a vacuum, and human nature has enough low impulses to occupy the mind of any social group in which the higher impulses remain undeveloped. There are always enough criminals and demagogues to exploit those who lack initiative. It is the opinion of those well informed on the subject that this bottom class as a whole owes its existence largely to hereditary feeble-mindedness.

At the same time we must not forget that defective children come from all classes of society, from the homes of the rich and talented as well as of the poor and criminal. Heredity is not the only cause: vicious living, disease, and accident play their part as well. But the defective child in a well-to-do family is sheltered from evil influences, given such education as he is capable of (though not always wisely directed), and provided with a suitable occupation when he grows up. This saves him from falling into the criminal and poverty-stricken class described above.

Educational Bearing

How teachers need some knowledge of feeble-mindedness is well brought out in the first chapter of Dr. Goddard's book, which tells "The Story of Deborah."

> One bright October day, fourteen years ago, there came to the Training School at Vineland, a little eight-year-old girl. She had been born in an almshouse. . . . On the plea that the child did not get along well at school and might possibly be feeble-minded, she gained admission to the Training School. . . . Deborah's teachers have worked with her faithfully and carefully. . . . The consensus of opinion of those who have known her for the last fourteen years in the Institution is as follows:
>
> "She is cheerful, inclined to be quarrelsome, very active and restless, very affectionate, willing, and tries; is quick and excitable, fairly good-

tempered. Learns a new occupation quickly, but requires a half hour or twenty-four repetitions to learn four lines. Retains well what she has once learned. Needs close supervision. Is bold towards strangers, kind towards animals. Can run an electric sewing-machine, cook, and do practically everything about the house. Has no noticeable defect. She is quick and observing, has a good memory, writes fairly, does excellent work in wood-carving and kindergarten, is excellent in imitation. Is a poor reader and poor at numbers. Does fine basketry and gardening. Spelling is poor; music is excellent; sewing excellent; excellent in entertainment work. Very fond of children and good in helping care for them. Has a good sense of order and cleanliness. Is sometimes very stubborn and obstinate. Is not always truthful and has been known to steal, although does not have a reputation for this. Is proud of her clothes. Likes pretty dresses and likes to help in other cottages, even to temporarily taking charge of a group."

For example, she can set a table and wait on it very nicely. She can put the right number of plates at the head of the table, if she knows the people who are to sit there, but at a table with precisely the same number of strangers, she fails in making the correct count. At a recent test made before a prominent scientist, the question was asked, "How many are 12 less 3?" She thought for a moment, looked around the room and finally answered, "Nine." "Correct," said her questioner. "Do you know how I did it?" she asked, delighted at her success. "I counted on my fingers."

By the Binet Scale this girl showed, in April, 1910, the mentality of a nine-year-old child with two points over. . . . This is a typical illustration of the mentality of a high-grade feeble-minded person, the moron, the delinquent, the kind of girl or woman that fills our reformatories. They are wayward, they get into all sorts of trouble, sexually and otherwise, and yet we have been accustomed to account for their defects on the basis of viciousness, environment, or ignorance.

It is also the history of the same type of girl in the public school. Rather good-looking, bright in appearance, with many attractive ways, the teacher clings to the hope, indeed insists, that such a girl will come out all right. Our work with Deborah convinces us that such hopes are delusions.

Here is a child who has been most carefully guarded. She has been persistently trained since she was eight years old, and yet nothing has been accomplished in the direction of higher intelligence or general education. To-day if this young woman were to leave the Institution, she would at once become prey to the designs of evil men or evil women and would lead a life that would be vicious, immoral, and criminal,

though because of her mentality she herself would not be responsible. . . . How do we account for this kind of individual? The answer is in a word, "Heredity," — bad stock. We must recognize that the human family shows varying stocks or strains that are as marked and that breed as true as anything in plant or animal life. — *The Kallikak Family*, pp. 1, 7–12.

Just as it has been recently learned that the moron represents a higher type of mentality than the idiot, so also we may learn that there is a higher type of defective mentality than that of the moron. Here is the testimony of a college teacher, and it can be duplicated by every teacher who has been long in a college or normal school:

Fair-haired, blue-eyed, child-faced, he came to our college three years ago. He failed to pass in his English composition; the head of the department rescinded his entrance credit and sent him back to the preparatory school. Here he worked for a year and was perfunctorily passed, as he had been in the high school. Again he attempted his freshman English, coming this time to me. His themes were impossible; they were the work of a child. Meantime, although constantly making conditions in other courses, he had been permitted to remain in the college on probation until he now regarded himself as a junior. Everyone had evaded the responsibility of telling him he was incapable of doing college work. . . . His parents were thick-witted farm people who had put all their money and their hope into making their boy that which they could never be. . . . It fell to my lot to tell him he had failed. He looked at me in silence for a full minute and then blazed out in such a fury of wrath and impotence as I should have thought could never move his mild soul; and slamming my office door, he flung himself downstairs and out. . . . He had wasted three good years in absolutely fruitless effort; he had been tacitly encouraged in dreams of a power and influence that could never be his, and by those three years he had been just so far unfitted for anything which he could possibly do. — *The Western Teacher*, November, 1912, Helen Ogden Mahin.

Here the regular schools, from college down to kindergarten, have an important function to perform. It is in the schools that the defectives can best be discovered and measures begun for their proper care. The "Deborah" of the Kallikak family had learned only a few letters by attending the public schools

up to her eighth year. This backwardness led to her being sent to the school for the feeble-minded at Vineland, N. J. From the study of her case in this school came the study of the entire family and the writing of the book from which the long selections on the preceding pages have been taken. Some knowledge of the various types of defectives is part of the professional equipment of a school principal, though the final decision of a case should be made by a specialist. The development of industrial education during the past five years has put many systems of schools in position to give a large proportion of the defective children the kind of education needed by each. Manual training, gymnastics, and various systems of tests, physical and mental, with the truant officer and the probation officer to supplement the work of the teacher, now give much greater certainty to the diagnosis of suspicious cases.

Diagnosis of mental status should be made by a clinical psychologist.

> . . . He should be the one to take the responsibility for all the activities which lead to the segregation of the child. For such a position a well-trained psychologist is necessary. He must be as well trained for it as the chief medical inspector must be for his field. . . .
>
> Needless to say a physical examination should be given to make sure that the child does not suffer from physical disabilities. For this purpose an examination by a physician must be made. . . . — Mitchell, *Schools and Classes for Exceptional Children*, pp. 92–94.

> I knew a girl who never passed in any grade in school. She simply could not learn, and only finished the graded school because the teachers promoted her when she was old enough and there was nothing more that she could get. In many of the studies she never made 75. After leaving school she learned the millinery business. In that she has made a success and has developed into a first-rate woman besides.

> The school delinquent and the court delinquent are frequently the same person. The boy who is absent from school runs a great risk of being the boy who is charged with some offense, the result of misguided energy. . . . Give us then, as a truant officer, the man or woman who is

a student of sociology, of psychology, of pedagogy, of hygiene, and of those factors which lead to a broader knowledge of men. Give us constructive agents. . . . — *Educational Review*, Vol. 43, pp. 81, 84, J. L. Fieser, "The Attendance Officer as an Interpreter of Social Forces."

The old policy of attempting to give all children the same education, at the same rate of speed, is at least twenty years behind the most advanced school policy actually in operation in our own country. Twenty years ago, Boston established special classes for backward children. Their number grows each year. They are no longer an experiment. An investigation made in 1913 showed that at least ninety cities in the United States had established such classes. That number has greatly increased in the last five years. Wisconsin has now some fifteen such classes, ten of these being in Milwaukee, and will probably open fifteen more next September. Definite plans for six of these fifteen are already made, and the children for the others already selected.

It seems fair to say that no one thing looms more important for the efficiency of an entire school system than the segregation and intelligent handling of backward and defective children. — Wisconsin State Department of Education, *Educational News Bulletin*, May 1, 1918, Elizabeth Woods.

In dealing with defective or peculiar persons of any kind it is well to remember Cooley's dictum: "Real reform must be sympathetic."

A group of six girls fifteen or sixteen years of age met to do fancy work. One of them stole silk from the others. Another discovered it and won the culprit's confidence before the others knew about it. Then all arranged to have her do work for them to earn money with which to buy supplies for her own work.

The selection from Dr. Goddard's book on pages 173 and 174 tells how Deborah's teacher "clings to the hope, indeed insists, that such a girl will come out all right." This must necessarily be the attitude of the teacher. The pupil will put forth his best effort only when he believes in himself, and he can hardly do this unless he sees that the teacher believes in him also. In the face-to-face work with a pupil the teacher must be an optimist; he must believe in free will; he must assume that all things are possible to him who tries. Some-

times it is proper to admit, as Dr. Goddard does with Deborah, "that such hopes are delusions"; there is a place for belief in determinism and heredity; but that attitude must ordinarily be kept out of sight in the presence of the pupil; the teacher who cannot do that should be taken out.

I once gave a talk to our students on the Kallikak family, and was followed by another teacher with a talk on the Edwards family. I kept closely to the facts as set forth in Goddard's book, but the other teacher — he was our institute conductor — closed with an eloquent portrayal of the success that comes to determined effort. He won the applause.

It was fitting that he should; the view he presented is the wholesome one for most students and young teachers to take; it is better for them to wait until they become principals and superintendents before they respond heartily to the other view, and by that time they will prefer to express their approval in other ways than by the clapping of hands. But every teacher should know that there is such a thing as inborn mental deficiency, and should be ready to coöperate with the specialists employed by public authority to discover and segregate the cases of it.

The Criminal Class

The teacher needs to know something about this subject also, because the young person whom the schools fail to educate properly has his chance of becoming a criminal increased many fold. The schools are not entirely or even chiefly responsible for the existence of the criminal class, because there are many other causes besides, such as physical defects, bad homes and neighborhoods, economic injustice, crooked politics, indulgence in liquor, and so on. But it is the business of the schools to see that every child is educated to overcome as far as is reasonably possible the defects of his physical and social inheritance. In a sense, therefore, every member of the criminal class represents a failure of the schools. Then,

too, in the great majority of cases, it was when he was a child of school age that the criminal acquired his distinctive character.

. . . Each year has deepened the conviction that ignorant, injurious, mistaken treatment of children is the real cause of crime. The writer's experience with ten thousand children is conclusive in its indication that the reason why the prisons are full dates back to the early lives of these men and women whom the world calls criminals. . . .

The crime committed has hitherto held the center of the stage. It is more important to learn, however, *why* it was committed. To guard and properly guide every child in the formative years of life, to prepare him to meet temptations of every kind, but to protect him from meeting them until he is strong enough to resist them — this is the constructive work demanded of parents, teachers and the state.

Crime can only be prevented as the causes which contribute to making the criminal are fully understood and removed. The belief that certain people constitute a criminal class and that society must take their existence for granted and provide for them has hitherto tended to impede any reduction in criminality. — Schoff, *The Wayward Child*, author's Introduction.

Hunting for the criminal, are you? . . . I can tell you where to find him. He is *not* the *other fellow* but the *other me*. . . . The criminal *me* is hidden away in each and every one of us. He may be bound with chains and secreted in the darkest recesses of our soul, or he may be quietly sleeping in some open doorway. But he is there in every one of us, awaiting a call or a temptation that is strong enough to set him free. . . .

. . . I have known them intimately, and well, and never have I been able to discover any difference between them and their more fortunate brethren. They entertain in their hearts the same ideals, the same hopes and the same ambitions as do average men.

Those who commit crime as a matter of choice are few indeed. Many follow it as a means of livelihood because it is the only vocation open to them. . . . These are the men who have chosen crime as a vocation, because their talent and training equipped them for that career, just as you may have chosen the law or the field of high finance for similar reasons. . . . — *The American Magazine*, Vol. 77, p. 82, from two prize answers to the question "What is a Criminal?"

. . . The criminal is a sick man, the prison is his hospital and the judge who sentenced him is his physician. . . .

. . . I would have all prison sentences indeterminate. A prisoner should be kept in the penitentiary until the trained criminologist says he is ready to be released. — *The Survey*, Vol. 36, p. 53, Dr. Victor C. Vaughn.

I will conclude by repeating that the delinquent and the truant come from a social medium which is inferior and out of which they must make a fresh start for themselves, they receive an education inferior to that of their fellows, and are handicapped physically and mentally. . . . — *The Child in the City*, p. 178, D. P. MacMillan, "Why We Have Truants and Delinquents."

From this table [cause of condemnations in the juvenile reformatories of this country], it appears that of the above offenses, truancy is the first juvenile offense to be punished by sentences to these institutions, and that these cases constitute the youngest class, more of whom are thirteen than any other age. Fourteen is the maximal age for incorrigibility and malicious mischief and trespass; fifteen for petty larceny, vagrancy, disorderly conduct and assaults; sixteen for larceny, burglary, and public intoxication; and seventeen for fornication. . . .

Juvenile crime shows thus the great difficulty which youth finds in making adjustment to the social surroundings, and so far as the law takes cognizance of it, it very often begins as the outcrop of the vagrant instinct which the requirements of the modern school bring out in a strong light. Next and closely connected with the reversion to nomadic life, in the evolution of the antisocial life of crime, comes resistance to the institution of property. . . . Third, and later, as a rule, are evolved crimes against person. — Hall, *Adolescence*, Vol. I, pp. 332–334.

Conclusion

The topics treated in this chapter may seem disconnected. If so, it is because this thing which we call society is essentially heterogeneous. The population of the United States is split up into strata, and all of us who have to do with the maintenance of our social organization, whether it be managing a national bureau or managing a district school, should occasionally see the situation as it is. Of course the segregation is never complete. There are criminals and imbeciles living in luxurious homes; there are rich families and energetic individuals living in the slums. But these are excep-

tional cases — too few to reverse the current of the social mind in which they are submerged.

If a final word needs to be said, can it be other than that education should foster the open classes based on vocation, but should bring all classes as near to a common social mind as possible? Then let the school train every boy and girl to be useful, to regard idleness as a mark of inferiority. Let each strive for the highest excellence possible within his occupation, but refrain from any assumption of superiority over other useful occupations. That is your job, this is mine. I do not humiliate myself when I yield precedence to you in your field: but if you do not yield to me in mine you challenge my proficiency and I must fight for my place in the world, or else join the ranks of the precariously employed.

Topics

1. What are the conditions which foster or dispel class feeling? Cooley, *Social Organization*, Chapters XIX, XX, XXVII.

2. Describe some example you have observed of caste in school. O'Shea, *Social Development of Education*, pp. 11–27, 425–442.

3. Slavery sometimes a useful institution. Fairbanks, *Introduction to Sociology*, p. 165; Ward, *Pure Sociology*, pp. 267–270; Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 262; Dealey, *Sociology*, pp. 101, 292; *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 13, pp. 513–522.

4. The responsibility of the schools for crime and poverty. Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 290–300; Gillette, *Vocational Education*, pp. 129–160; Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, pp. 354–367.

5. Degeneracy. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, pp. 372–391; *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 4, pp. 326–334, 463–473; Nordau, *Degeneration*.

6. The value of geniuses; means of discovering and developing them. Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 350–359; Gillette, *Vocational Education*, pp. 100–103; Mallock, *Aristocracy and Evolution*, pp. 118–139; Ward, *Applied Sociology*, pp. 113–281; *The Child in the City*, pp. 203–212, D. P. MacMillan.

7. Explain the phrase, *noblesse oblige*. How does it apply to the

senior class in school? to the educated person in a community? to persons possessing wealth?

8. Review these books: Goddard, *The Kallikak Family;* Dugdale, *The Jukes;* Winship, *The Edwards Family.*

9. Elimination and retardation in schools. Strayer and Thorndike, *Educational Administration*, pp. 3–73, eight sections.

10. Teachers as a class. *Ibid.*, pp. 77–146, five sections; Cubberley, *Rural Life and Education*, pp. 283–305.

Problems

1. Is there evidence of caste in the table on p. 16 showing the nationality of teachers?

2. How far is class consciousness desirable? When should it be repressed?

3. Describe some community you have known where teachers are recognized as the *élite.*

4. Describe some community where teachers are regarded as an inferior class. What would you do if you were a principal or superintendent in such a community?

5. What is the wholesome way for persons to regard themselves who find that they are not wanted in some organization or social circle to which they would like to belong?

6. Are some school fraternities and societies examples of caste? Should fraternities and sororities be prohibited in high schools? In normal schools?

7. Should races or nationalities be recognized among the pupils of a school? Note the observance of special days; also adaptations of geography, history, and literature.

References

The subject of this chapter has been even more voluminously treated than that of the preceding. There is a prodigious literature dealing with the practical applications of it.

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 19, pp. 592–648, 761–791, six articles on race solidarity and prejudice; Vol. 22, pp. 461–476, 594–608, 749–760; Vol. 23, pp. 350–358, 67–82, Ross, five articles on "Class and Caste."

Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 399–407, 425–434.

Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1912, No. 19, Burritt, "Professional Distribution of College and University Graduates."

Child in the City, The, Part IV, pp. 203–269, six chapters by different authors on "Special Groups of Children."

Coffman, *Social Composition of the Teaching Population.*

* Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 209–309.

Cooley, *Social Process*, pp. 78–87, 153–168, 268–280.

Dealey, *Sociology*, pp. 170–183.

Dewey, *Schools of Tomorrow*, pp. 230–240.

Groszmann, *The Exceptional Child.*

Hanus, *Beginnings in Industrial Education*, pp. 169–199, "The Country Schoolmaster in Bavaria."

Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 248–254, 599–610.

Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, pp. 454–462, 552.

Jessup, *The Teaching Staff*, pp. 53–114.

King, *Social Aspects of Education*, pp. 230–235.

National Conference of Social Work, formerly National Conference of Corrections and Charities, *Proceedings*, annual volumes a mine of information.

Patten, *The New Basis of Civilization*, pp. 67–91.

Perry, *The Profession of the Teacher*, pp. 52–68.

Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*, treats of the case method of studying social classes; pp. 221–234, "Schools as Sources."

Ross, *Changing America*, pp. 3–19, "The Outlook for Plain Folk"; 212–236, "The Middle West: Society and Culture."

School and Society, Vol. 3, pp. 901–907, Pittenger, "Distribution of High School Graduates."

Small, *General Sociology*, pp. 274–279.

Sumner, *Folkways*, pp. 39–52.

Treitschke, *Politics*, Vol. I, pp. 303–327.

Weyl, *The New Democracy*, pp. 235–254.

Negroes as a Caste

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 19, pp. 343–357, "The Philosophy of the Color Line"; Vol. 22, pp. 577–593, Howard, "The Social Cost of Southern Race Prejudice"; Vol. 23, pp. 83–106, "The Superiority of the Mulatto"; Vol. 23, pp. 735–746, Dodd, "The Social Philosophy of the Old South."

Bowen, *Safeguards for City Youth*, pp. 170–201; "Protection against Illegal Discrimination."

* DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, especially pp. 1–12, 163–188, 207–214.

Independent, Vol. 73, pp. 661–664, "Contrasts at Home and Abroad."

Johnston, *The Negro in the New World*, especially the last nine chapters. A foreigner's view.

Negro Problem, The, a series of articles by representative American negroes of to-day.

Page, *The Negro the Southerner's Problem*, pp. 286–310.

Stephenson, *Race Distinctions in American Law*, especially pp. 1–24, 154–206, 348–362.

Stone, *Studies in the American Race Problem*, pp. 3–39, 351–421.

Washington, *Story of the Negro*, Vol. II, pp. 393–401.

Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems*, pp. 329–371, "Assimilation of the Immigrant"; 665–790, "The Negro Problem."

THE POOR

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 18, pp. 784–795, Devine, "Some Ideals Implied in Present American Programs of Voluntary Philanthropy." Also in American Sociological Society *Proceedings*, Vol. 7, pp. 177–188.

Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 435–456, charities and charity administration each treated in a separate chapter.

Devine, *Misery and Its Causes*, especially pp. 3–50, 167–235.

Dooley, *Education of the Ne'er-Do-Well*, especially pp. 15–30.

Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, pp. 262–280.

Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 171–188.

Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, especially pp. 217–230.

Towne, *Social Problems*, pp. 285–306.

Warner, *American Charities*.

IMMIGRANTS

Abbott, *The Immigrant and the Community*, pp. 221–246, "The Education of the Immigrant."

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 14, pp. 329–351, Maclean, "Life in the Pennsylvania Coal Fields," with particular reference to women; Vol. 22, pp. 519–543, Maurer, "The Earlier German Nationalism in America"; Vol. 24, pp. 609–642, Hill, "The Americanization Movement."

Bowen, *Safeguards for City Youth*, pp. 160–170, "Protection against Illegal Discrimination."

Committee for Immigrants in America, 20 West 34th St., New York City, publishes a quarterly review and numerous pamphlets; two of special value to teachers are a "Citizenship Syllabus" and a "Professional Course for Service among Immigrants."

Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem:* pp. 24–40, characteristics; 104–126, institutions; 221–260, Orientals; 261–318, assimilation.

Miller, *The School and the Immigrant:* pp. 23–36, 72–84, children; 37–58, language; 85–102, adults.

Ravage, *An American in the Making.* Experience with schools begins at p. 173.

Riis, *Making of an American*, pp. 35–100.

Ross, *The Old World and the New*, especially pp. 228–258.

Steiner, *From Alien to Citizen*, pp. 53–198.

U. S. Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1913, No. 51, "Education of the Immigrant"; 1916, No. 18, "Public Facilities for Educating the Alien." The Bureau has a Division of Immigrant Education.

Criminals

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. I, pp. 290–298, Warner, "Politics and Crime"; Vol. 22, pp. 38–52, Healy and Bronner, "Youthful Offenders"; Vol. 24, pp. 61–83, Howard, "Alcohol and Crime."

Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 478–498.

Bowen, *Safeguards for City Youth*, pp. 94–127, "Legal Protection for Delinquents."

Eliot, *The Juvenile Court and the Community*, pp. 133–154.

Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 618–627.

Healy, *The Individual Delinquent.* Summarizes 1000 cases.

Mosby, *Causes and Cures of Crime*, pp. 130–159, "Education."

Schoff, *The Wayward Child*, especially Introduction and pp. 106–136, a chapter each on schools and truancy.

Towne, *Social Problems*, pp. 207–233.

U. S. Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1915, No. 29, "The Truant Problem and the Parental School."

The Feeble-Minded

Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 499–512.

Dugdale, *The Jukes.*

Educational Review, Vol. 50, pp. 481–494, Woods, "The Subnormal Child."

Fairchild, *Applied Psychology*, pp. 26–43.

Goddard, *The Kallikak Family.*

Goddard, *School Training of Defective Children*, especially pp. ix–27.

Guyer, *Being Well-Born*, pp. 228–288.

Holmes, *The Conservation of the Child*, especially pp. 15–31, history; 32–91, clinic; 299–342, sociological relations.

Outlook, Vol. 110, pp. 579–582, Rainsford, "Bums."

Towne, *Social Problems*, pp. 184–206.

U. S. Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1911, No. 14, "Provision for Exceptional Children in the Public Schools."

Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems*, pp. 173–193.

BACKWARD COMMUNITIES

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. IV, pp. 1–20, Vincent, "A Retarded Frontier."

American Magazine, Vol. 76, pp. 11–15, Gesell, "A Village of a Thousand Souls."

Gillette, *Constructive Rural Sociology*, pp. 73–77, 272–287.

Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, pp. 70–79, 127–146.

Kuhns, *German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania*, especially pp. 221–229.

Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature: "Mountaineers"; "Mountain Whites"; "New Mennonites"; names of the various states.

The Bookman, Vols. 38 and 39, "American Backgrounds for Fiction," six articles about backward communities treated by novelists. Vol. 39 also has an article by Abraham Cahan, "New Writers of the Ghetto."

CHAPTER VIII

ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS

When the main building of the normal school was burned the resident member of the board of regents was in another part of the state. An acquaintance who had read about the fire in a newspaper accosted him on the train with the remark: "So your normal school has burned."

"You are mistaken," the regent replied. "Perhaps our old building has burned, but that normal school is something which cannot be destroyed by fire." Referring to this reply later he said, "I spoke only the literal truth, because, when I returned home the next day, I found every class meeting on schedule time, using five churches for shelter in place of the old building."

Now what is an institution? It is *any* manifestly established mode of activity . . . *in the life of human society*, and as so regarded it must also be supposed to have a distinct personnel or clientage. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 13, p. 524, A. H. Lloyd.

Exist in the Social Mind

WHAT is an institution? The average person, if answering off-hand, will either name one or more examples, or else define it as a spot of ground with buildings on it. But a little thought shows that this quite misses the point. Certain experiences do also, especially the not infrequent one of the burning of a school building. The normal school at Milwaukee abandoned its old building and moved into a new one several miles away on the other side of the city, but it was still the same school.

"An institution consists of people," someone says. Then take the improbable but entirely conceivable supposition that every man, woman, and child composing the faculty,

students, and training-school of the normal school at Winona, Minn., go on an excursion up the river to Lake Pepin, and sink to the bottom instead of returning home. There would probably be no school the next day, but how about the next year? What would the thousands of former students say? Or the several hundred young people who are planning to attend? Or the merchants and boarding-house keepers of Winona? Or the schools that have for years looked to Winona for new teachers? Or the legislature which has just made an appropriation to extend the plant of this school? Or the Board of Regents who have already made provision in their budget for the continuance of this school next year? Or the taxpayers of the state who are accustomed to contribute substantially every year to keep up the educational system? Clearly an institution has a broader base than merely the people who are visibly carrying it on. To the maintenance of this school the social mind of the entire state is definitely committed, with no little support coming from outside of the state. "An institution," says Cooley, "is simply a definite and established phase of the public mind."

This definite phase needs to be carefully differentiated from the looser phases to which attention was directed in Chapter VI. Twenty years ago the idea of manual training nearly everywhere in this country was only a popular impression in the minds of the people who study educational problems. When this impression grew into a favorable opinion, and strong enough in some one community to induce a wealthy man to give $100,000 for a manual training building, or to lead to the election of a board of education pledged to have manual training taught in the public schools, then the definite phase of the social mind came into existence. In time, visible things appeared corresponding to the popular idea of an institution: building, equipment, and work going on. Manual training was no longer the construction of whatever one's fancy suggested. There was a definite curriculum. There

was a standard equipment. Each person had definite duties to perform suited to his capacity; his habits grew so that he became skilled in doing the work assigned to him. Building, equipment, and persons were coördinated to accomplish some large result, say, to give all the children in the city experience in handling tools. This marshaling of persons is what we call organization: an institution is an organized form of the life of the community.

Needs and Wants: Coöperation and Specialization

Institutions satisfy wants. A want is a need which is felt, and some needs can be met only by coöperative effort. Institutions, therefore, satisfy felt needs which require co-operation. The army, for example, starts with the necessity of combining to secure protection against enemies. The industrial enterprise consists of a group of persons combined for the purpose of making money. The school is a coöperative effort in education. Here is a literary society composed of students in a school. It has existed for half a century. Throughout this period it has kept up nearly the same kind of work, met with the same frequency, and been known by the same name. Though the membership has totally changed several times over, yet the number and qualities of the members have seen little change. It owns no building or other property of value. The only enduring thing about it has been the form of organization, and that endures because it serves a felt need.

Any one organization exists to satisfy a particular need in the community and in the lives of its members. Any one member in the organization likewise bears a special share in its work. Specialization is the correlative of organization. A member of the literary society mentioned above attends its meetings only once a week, with occasional absences and longer intervals caused by vacations. It may be in his thought at other times, but only rarely is there anything else

to do. It serves only a small fraction of his nature. A large and important institution never wholly absorbs even its most active members. They may find their occupation in it for eight or ten hours a day, but the rest of their time is given to other social groups or institutions.

Different institutions are thus interconnected by including the same persons in their membership. The glee club and the athletic association avoid interfering with each other's work, as they would do, for example, by calling meetings at the same hour, not because there is any formal alliance between them, but merely because some of the members of the one are also members of the other. This interlocking of institutions gives stability to organized society: no one part can easily be changed because to change one part is to disturb all the rest.

. . . The establishment of an institution means that society has become self-conscious regarding a way or a series of related ways of satisfying some human want, of adjusting itself more efficiently to some phase of its environment. — *School and Home Education*, Vol. 34, p. 227, Lotus D. Coffman.

In real life . . . society at its best organized itself in groups in which each individual in the various groups to which he may belong, finds himself in contact with others whose weaknesses he supplements or whose greater powers he depends upon. The idea of such a group as a whole is not necessarily contained in the brain of any single member, and as the idea develops by social interpenetration, it becomes, in all its many-sidedness, too large for any member to contain. The function that each plays is a different one, and the thought of each concerning the group is likewise different. And yet such groups tend to stick together. . . . — Scott, *Social Education*, p. 15.

. . . This is true of men as they actually are: that the small men, who are nearly alike, have fewest points of union with others; that the great men, who are unlike, have many points of union with others; that the unity of society is conditioned on the uniqueness of unlike individuals and that unity is therefore the very opposite of homogeneity and uniformity. — Harris, *Inequality and Progress*, p. 148.

There is intellectual team work. . . . In each subgroup — church, college, trade union, or coöperative society — there goes on a joint working out of opinion as to the special problems and policies of that group; and while opinion may reflect the counsel of some sage member, it is usually the outcome of discussion and consensus, *i.e.*, of coöperative thinking.

. . . Team-thinking goes on only among persons well matched in equipment. Hence, as soon as there appear in any field men of special knowledge or training, with exceptional facilities in the way of collections, laboratories, travel, mutual access, and stimulating association, the rest of us fall silent and content ourselves with walking henceforth in trails other men have blazed. . . .

In a word, just as we become parasites on the experts who wire our houses and test our food, so our minds become parasites on the specialized minds engaged in rearing law, morality, literature, and science. The organizing of thought in respect to fundamentals is left to a rather small number of men. More and more we retire to the side lines and watch the star players advance the ball. The bulk of us are consumers of the mental products of the masters. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 22, pp. 307, 308, Ross, "The Organization of Thought."

An institution . . . is made up of persons, but not of whole persons; each one enters into it with a trained and specialized part of himself. Consider, for instance, the legal part of a lawyer, the ecclesiastical part of a church member or the business part of a merchant. . . . — Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 319.

Family bonds create cross-lines of interest. The stone mason's son may be traveling salesman for a trust; the daughter of a grocer may be a school-teacher or milliner; the brother of an obsequious butler may be a walking delegate, a village minister, a bucket-shop keeper or a tenant farmer, or a small pharmacist. — Weyl, *The New Democracy*, p. 236.

Institutions and the Instinct to Achieve

Human needs and the wants which arise from them tell only one side of the story of the origin of institutions; there is another side as well. These two sides are the same two phases of social organization which have been noticed in preceding chapters — the rational and intellective *versus*

the instinctive and affective. We join institutions not alone to satisfy needs which we could enumerate, but also to gratify vague impulses within us of which we may be only dimly aware — the gregarious instinct, the instinct to achieve, to use to the full whatever powers we have. The woman who is able to direct a large chorus organizes a glee club and makes it a permanent organization. The man who is able to lead boys naturally enough wants to organize a patrol of Boy Scouts, be principal of an elementary school, or employ boys in his factory. The man who is a capable administrator will find some need which people can satisfy better by working collectively than singly: he may have no philanthropic regard for their needs, he simply wants the fun of doing the administering. Likewise with any of the special kinds of work which are necessary to the maintenance of an institution. There are the needs, and there are the impulses to action: this twofold stimulus is back of it all.

In what has just been said there is no implication that the impulses by some magic exactly meet the needs. Impulse often prompts to harmful rather than useful action, and on the other side there is much work to be done for which workers can be had in sufficient numbers only under compulsion or for compensation. But obviously an institution would be at its best on condition that each kind of work which it requires is performed by someone who would rather do that work than play.

Another factor, still, is the approval of other persons which everyone wants as evidence that his work is successful and because that approval is gratifying in itself. He must win a place for himself in their esteem. Any work acquires dignity, no matter how humble or obscure, if it is a part of some great enterprise to serve the needs of many people.

. . . There are endless situations which a man cannot meet or solve alone, but can master with the aid of others. The social quality which results from such collective enterprise is a sympathetic zest in acting

as one of a group; it is a "team play" feeling. . . . — Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, p. 206.

Closely related with this instinct of personal integrity, and intimately involved in its realization, is a social claim which may be called, in the absence of a better term, the craving for reciprocal valuation. . . . The society in which the individual might most completely achieve himself would be in part a mutual-admiration society. . . . — Small, *General Sociology*, p. 461.

. . . Losing himself in the team is an experience not of self-sacrifice, but of self-fulfilment. It is the breaking of a band, expansion to a larger personality. The boy in the great team games comes into his birthright as a member.

. . . The power of creative assertion is at its greatest in the making of a social whole. The leader is not merely a glorified individual, he is a functionary, an official, — true priest to the spirit of the team, or army, or nation, he represents, — mid-wife to the latent loyalty of his followers, servant of all in the highest service man can render to his fellow men.

. . . Specialization contributes to the fullness of membership because through it the team makes its full claim on the individual. In intrusting him with one especial service, it stakes its success upon his adequacy, subjects him to the full current of its purpose. If shortstop does not field the ball when it comes his way, if first base does not catch it when it is thrown to him, it will not get fielded or will not be caught. In his own especial office each player *is* the team, all there is of it at that point.

. . . To feel that you have a particular thing to do in the service of your cause that no other can accomplish — that you are, in that one thing, however humble, a live wire of the common purpose — is the way of initiation to full membership. And it is the only way. Unless you are, in very truth, needed for its accomplishment, the stress of the common purpose will not run through you. Responsibility is the great word in education: the miracle is not performed through work that can be neglected with impunity.

. . . We make cities and states and nations not because we find them useful in our business, not because they help us to accomplish our economic or other ulterior ends, but because we were born that way. . . . Given the power, and the resulting institutions, we do indeed promote and modify these for utilitarian reasons; and we often believe that these sensible second thoughts are our real motives for combining — just as the gang finds many wonderful excuses for its existence. But these are never the real motives. The instinct that makes all laws and social

institutions is the same instinct that has made the gang. It is always in virtue of the belonging instinct that we belong. — Lee, *Play in Education*, pp. 336, 339, 340, 342, 343, 360, 361.

The "Belonging" Instinct in Children

This is at the maximum from twelve to fifteen years of age. Boys especially will submit to more discipline from the fellow-members of the organization to which they belong than at any other time of life. About 1910 a movement was begun to organize clubs in elementary schools. A certain school chanced to have a principal who was a natural leader of boys, and at the same time a woman in charge of the eighth grade who was equally good as a leader of girls. In time the pupil organizations in this school became so permanent that a booklet was printed containing the constitution and by-laws of each club, and the names of the officers and members. There are four clubs for boys and one for girls. The following selections from this booklet present the essential features:

Believing that social and moral education should receive its due share of attention as well as physical and mental training, special efforts towards this end began about seven years ago. The work has grown from year to year and has been so successful that no one questions its value. The patrons of the school have always given their hearty cooperation. The work is associated with programs, entertainments, receptions, parties and athletics. Since the gymnasium was secured, two years ago, it has been in constant use during the winter months from the close of school each day until 6 o'clock, and many evenings. The influence on the school of this outside work has been remarkable. There has been greater interest in the regular school work, better coöperation between pupils and teachers, and problems in discipline are rare. During the year ending June, 1914, there were 130 times our school building was used outside of school hours. A total of 300 hours was given to the work by teachers and principal.

Royal Knights' Club. *Constitution.* The purpose of this club shall be the physical, mental, moral and social improvement of its members; the name shall be the Royal Knights of the —— School.

The badge of the society shall be the four-leaf clover to represent the four purposes of the society.

Any boy who has reached the eighth grade in this school may become a member by signing the pledge. Other boys of the school may become members by signing the pledge and passing the following tests:

1. Chinning, 6 times.
2. Broad jump, 6 feet 6 inches.
3. 100-yard dash in 14 seconds.
4. High jump, 3 feet 6 inches.
5. Chest expansion, 3 inches.

The principal of the school shall be manager. . . . Unless otherwise decided, meetings shall be held every Friday evening and shall be arranged as far as possible to fulfill the fourfold purpose of the club.

Members are expected to attend every meeting and faithfully perform such work as is assigned to them. Members may be dismissed for breaking their pledge, non-attendance, or neglect of duties.

By-laws. Members are not expected to tell the private affairs of the club, such as the forms of initiation, to persons not members.

Pledge. I promise on my honor —

1. To strive to develop an intelligent mind in a strong, healthy body.
2. To form only good habits and to use every possible means to keep myself pure.
3. To abstain from the use of profane and vulgar language, the use of tobacco in every form, and the reading of trashy books.
4. To treat all women and girls with respect and endeavor to protect them from wrong.
5. To have the manners of a gentleman at all times.
6. To be loyal to my school, and to set a good example to younger boys.
7. To attend all the meetings of this club and to do all I can to make it helpful to all.
8. I further promise to do what I can to promote these principles among my companions.

Eighth-Grade Girls' Club.

To learn to be helpful to others, always, everywhere.

To learn not to gossip or criticize.

To have a good time.

The club pin is a three-cornered shield signifying these three purposes. In the middle of the pin is a pitcher which stands for the foremost purpose of the club, *service*.

Any eighth-grade girl may become a member by signing the pledge and paying the initiation fee of ten cents. There are no other fees.

The club meetings are held every Thursday after school in the school building and consist of such activities as music, recitations, talks, sewing, painting, gymnasium work, games or outings, and a banquet every semester.

The constitution of the club states that "it is the duty of each member to hold sacred her pledge, to keep private the affairs of the club, and to strive to make her presence a help and pleasure to others by taking part in all activities of the club and striving never to disturb the unity and harmony thereof."

. . . The club has in great part broken down the habit girls have, which boys are not so apt to have, of forming selfish exclusive groups. . . . They have grown more considerate and thoughtful, ready to see others' needs and supply them if they can. The club has made us all, pupils and teacher, better acquainted, learning to know each other's good qualities and to handle each other's faults with greater understanding. Through added loyalty to each other and to the teacher has come deeper loyalty for the school and its principles, which helps all to be happy and harmonious. Everything seems to "go" better.

Pledge. I promise to be faithful to the Eighth Grade Girls' Club and to the principles for which it stands, to refrain from quarreling or criticizing, and to try my best to always be kindly, unselfish, gentle and honest.

ALUMNI CLUB.

Membership in this club is limited to boys who are graduates of the school and who do not use tobacco. During the winter months meetings are held once a fortnight for athletic and social purposes.

INSTITUTIONS AND STANDARDS

It is through institutions that conduct is standardized. First come the qualifications for membership. Every institution or organization, from the government of the nation down to the grammar-room baseball team, sets a standard for admission. Persons who are of the institution's type are sought for membership, and themselves seek it. An institution, then, is a society with a selected population.

The new recruit, once within, is gradually made over into closer conformity to the type, and because the members

deliberately intend to do this they prefer a young recruit to an old one. It is in this process and the degree of success attending it that any particular institution differs most from another of its kind. There are formal statements of aims and the means of working toward them. The ideals of conduct are represented in as attractive colors as possible. The most is accomplished, however, through suggestion and imitation. The new member, being anxious to stand well, watches closely and does what he sees the older members do.

. . . So teachers, clergymen, physicians, civil engineers, artists, or actors, by agreeing among themselves as to what is praiseworthy and what disreputable, control the feelings and consequently the endeavor of the individual.

Every party, labor union, guild, lodge, surveying corps, or athletic team will, in the course of time, develop for its special purposes appropriate types of character or observance, which exert on its members an invisible pressure subordinating them to the welfare or aims of the association. . . . — Ross, *Social Control*, p. 232.

"All the bother about what one has to do with oneself is over," wrote Hugh. "One has disposed of oneself. That has the effect of a great relief. Instead of telling oneself that one ought to get up in the morning, a bugle tells you that. . . . And there's no nonsense about it, no chance of lying and arguing about it with oneself. . . . I begin to see the sense of men going into monasteries and putting themselves under rules. One is carried along in a sort of moral automobile instead of trudging the road. . . ."— Wells, *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*, pp. 305, 306.

In a western university town a certain fraternity has been noted for the scholarship of its members. For several years this fraternity had furnished the Rhodes scholar for the state. It is a sort of unwritten rule among them that the ablest member must represent their institution at Oxford. The present representative did not want to go to England. In answer to my question, "Why did you go, then?" he replied, "For the frat men; 'twould be disloyalty to them not to go."

A sorority in the same town was distinctly a fashionable society. To be admitted to this was a recognition of social fitness. Dress was the watchword, parties and men were the most absorbing interests. I suppose these girls studied occasionally, but they seemed to exist only to find a good time with little or no work in it. Most of them were

fine looking, so when college plays were put on these girls were always in requisition. School teaching was voted a deadly bore. "Life is too short to put it in in that way," said one who resigned after teaching for two months.

. . . Especially it needs as a corrective the German idea of a standard, of toeing the mark, the idea through which the Fatherland has rendered such noble service to her sons. People can attain a standard when it is required of them — witness the feats of horsemanship that every West Point cadet learns to perform. Do it for America; make yourself, whether you can hope to shine in competition or not — regardless of any such reward — the sort of unit of which your country's temple can be built. . . . — Lee, *Play in Education*, p. 201.

An occasional person misunderstands either the type or himself, and applies for membership only to be refused. A few also — very few, usually — both misunderstand and are misunderstood; they gain admission without possessing conformity to the type or even the elements out of which conformity can be developed. Then there is trouble. Coercion, of which there are many kinds and degrees, is then put into operation, sometimes at much cost of energy and resources, and always frustrating to some extent the ends for which the institution exists.

Only once in the history of the society has any one ever been expelled. Every one felt bad over the acts committed as well as over the loss of the two girls, but it was the only way to teach the other girls a lesson as well as to punish the culprits.

To avoid trouble of this kind an institution with high standards takes great care in looking up the characteristics of candidates for membership. In higher schools of all kinds new students are put through a process of "rushing" by the members of student organizations; absurd as it sometimes is, it is the means by which the new students are sorted into the respective organizations for which they are best adapted. The same sorting process goes on among teachers, only more quietly. Here is a statement from a teachers' agency:

It was once stated by the president of one of the best known eastern colleges that he felt he earned his salary and justified his official existence if he was able to add one real teacher to his faculty each year, even though other teachers selected should prove indifferent. This is a common sentiment among school men. A careful search is constantly going on for trained and capable men and women, men and women who are real teachers.

A young woman who had risen to the highest distinction among the students in a school wrote by request shortly before her graduation the following account of what her literary society had done for her. It is a splendid example of the way the member takes on the character of the institution, and then in turn contributes to its strength and further growth.

Before I had any idea of making Clionian I was of the harum-scarum kind who have no special ambition. At first I was awed and subdued by the older girls, but I was soon made to feel that I must put my soul into things and not be a back number. The consciousness that I was part of that group entirely changed my attitude toward life in general and student life in particular. Up to that time there had been no special aim in my work. I came to school and went home, not caring much about my attitude or actions. Why should I have cared? There was nothing to make me responsible, no one with any claim on me.

The first meeting was rather a shock to me. I had imagined perfect harmony in the workings of the society. But instead I found that every member had a different view of every question; the arguments became so heated at times that I thought of Lincoln's sentiment, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I had not been in long, however, before I realized that these discussions were all good-natured; no one meant disrespect to the other's feelings; it was purely a competition. Almost before I knew it I was doing the same thing, glad when I had a chance to get up and give my views on a subject.

Almost as soon as I had paid my initiation fee we began to prepare for our annual contest with the Ciceronian. I entered just to show my grit, though I really felt presumptuous to do it. The girls urged me on so that I got first place in the preliminary. Then I realized that I counted for something with them, especially as they came to me quietly one by one and said that their hopes were pinned on me and that I must go ahead and win for them. It was not known to me at the time

that they all told the same thing to the other two declaimers, and so I felt greatly responsible.

Next I was made chairman of the committee to decorate for the Clionian-Ciceronian party, and as all the girls helped me it came out successfully. One thing led to another, the girls all pushing on toward bigger things and taking me with them. The great sustaining influence was that I had the hearty approbation of the society in all I undertook. Had they dampened my ardor in any way, either by signs of jealousy or lack of ambition to accomplish things, I know that I never would have accomplished what I have. After a year I began to get the knack of going ahead. One evening I suggested a plan for a new enterprise of some magnitude. The girls received it doubtfully, a few protesting that it could not be done. I too doubted for a moment, but I summoned enough self-assurance to picture the project in vivid terms and to tell them how it would be a success if we would all coöperate. My "bill passed." We did work hard, and were so royally repaid that the occasion is now established for annual repetition.

Whenever I am praised or blamed for any act of mine I feel unconsciously that Clionian is either upheld or reproached. Next to my family, Clionian has formed my social nature and ideals, more than church, the school, or the community in which I live. All of this I lay gratefully at the feet of my sister Clionians of 1910–11.

School Standards

A large school divides its members into many different grades or classes, and has a standard of attainment for entering each, or for leaving to enter a higher one. Written examinations are the tests most used to this end, because they are the easiest applied to large groups. The entrance examinations which the eastern colleges have required, with much coöperation among themselves to secure uniformity, have had a great influence on our entire educational system; they have been a sort of pivot about which everything else turned. Then there are different ranks of teachers, with a set of qualifications for each rank.

Within the last ten years standard tests have been developed for the elementary schools which bear some resemblance to the Binet-Simon intelligence tests. An investigator works

out a set of exercises in a given subject, like arithmetic, and tries them on a large number of children. He then develops standard methods of scoring the results so that different workers scoring the same papers would arrive at the same results. The tests may then be used to compare the attainments of different classes, teachers, schools, or systems of schools, or by the same class or teacher or school at different times.

. . . No one would dispute the fact that human life is a deeper and more complicated subject than can be probed by quantitative tests; nevertheless, when the more subtle components have been excluded, there remain some essential elements in education which are purely objective and that these can be measured with reasonable exactness there is no reason to doubt. Because some things of supreme importance cannot be included in this category is no valid argument for rejecting the entire plan. We measure a man in terms of achievement; to apply to the schools the same test, the ability to produce results, is only logical and reasonable. The spiritual side of education is real and in all probability defies measurement, but a complete education includes elements other than the spiritual, and so far as they are present they can be measured. . . . — National Society for the Study of Education, *Fifteenth Yearbook*, p. 69, D. C. Bliss, "The Application of Standard Measurements to School Administration."

The significance of these new standards of measurement for our educational service is indeed large. Their use means nothing less than the ultimate transformation of school work from guesswork to scientific accuracy; the elimination of favoritism and politics from the work; the ending forever of the day when a personal or a political enemy of a superintendent can secure his removal, without regard to the efficiency of the school system he has built up; the substitution of well-trained experts as superintendents of schools for the old successful practitioners; and the changing of school supervision from a temporary or a political job, for which little or no preparation need be made, to that of a highly skilled piece of social engineering. . . .

. . . The underlying purpose of the new movement has been the creation of such standardized scales for measuring school work, and for comparing the accomplishments of different schools and groups of schoolchildren, as to give to both supervisors and teachers definite aims in the imparting of instruction. Instead of continuing to teach without definite measuring-sticks, and to assign tasks and trust to luck and the

growth process in children for results, which is comparable to the old-time luck-and-chance farming, it has been attempted to evolve standards of measurement which will do for education what has been done for agriculture as a result of the application of scientific knowledge and scientific methods to farming. — Monroe, De Voss, and Kelly, *Educational Tests and Measurements*, pp. vi, vii, Cubberley, "Editor's Introduction."

Justice and the Rules of the Game

Loyal coöperation can go on within any group only on condition that the apportionment of benefits and burdens among the members is just. There must be standing rules for all alike, then no one can complain of being unfairly treated. Between rival organizations rules are necessary to keep them from resorting to methods of winning that would be subversive of the ends for which those organizations exist. Groups are naturally very selfish, but with organization they may rise to lofty heights of altruism.

The organizations which conduct interscholastic contests, for example, while they use every effort to win, want it to be in accordance with the rules of the game. They make provision for the entertainment and convenience of their opponents; they may even refuse to take advantage of an accident to an opponent's equipment. All of this comes about by developing a sentiment of chivalry toward opponents, but it rests at bottom on a realization that victory would not be worth much unless arrangements were known to be such as to give the victory to the best man or team.

> The pure justice-motive, then, crops up oftenest in the dealings of equals, in such fields as war, sport, trade, business, and politics. It is the natural regulator of emulation. . . .
>
> Now what reconciles men of violence to one another and keeps them in the paths of peace is not the affectionateness of Tahitans . . ., but that voluntary limitation of one's claims that flows from a sense of fairness. . . . All that nature does to fit men for just dealing is to give them self-control and reflectiveness. From the standpoint of peace and order the race most hopeless is not the hard and aggressive race, but the race afflicted with seething, explosive passions. Self-control, or the

power to inhibit the passions, gives a man time to remember, to hear the other side, to discuss. Reflection favors that *thought-out* type of conduct which marks the fair-minded man. . . . — Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 27, 29.

Must Have Time to Grow

All that was said in Chapter V about the assimilating and unifying agencies that work in any group applies with multiplied force to an institution. This is because an institution, having duration, gives the social mind a longer time to act on the members of the group, while outside or conflicting agencies are to some extent excluded. Customs become solidified and harmonized with one another; inconsistent usages die out; bygone experiences leave their deposit of public sentiment; traditions acquire prestige. These effects in turn become cause: an institution must have time to grow; no impromptu effort can construct one offhand. Once well started, however, an institution has a relatively permanent character, even in such shifting things as ideals and etiquette.

Since an institution is a psychical organism, its continued existence depends on its uninterrupted activity. An old institution, once overthrown, can hardly be restored; the old name and some superficial forms may be, but the old spirit, never. After a vacation the club that does not promptly resume its regular functions has gone far toward extinction.

. . . Are the particular male adults in a given year who have got the given qualifications the only people whose interests are concerned? Those adult males are, in the first place, the heirs, and, in the second place, trustees of many centuries; and it is preposterous to say that we should so frame our Constitution that the holders of power for the moment should be regarded as in every respect the irresponsible managers, not only of their own affairs for the moment, but of the affairs of their country for all time. Because, remember, there are many things which can be done which are irreversible when you are dealing with great growths in the region of politics; just as when you are dealing with them in the region of nature you cannot replace that which you destroy.

You may pull down a building and erect another exactly like it; you cannot cut down a tree and say, "To-morrow I will have another tree in its place." So it is with an institution. You are absolutely bound to see that no hasty decision shall upset in one reckless hour interests which have been slowly and painfully built up by our predecessors, and which our successors never can replace. — Hayes, *British Social Politics*, p. 451, speech by A. J. Balfour.

The "best disciplined" school that the writer has ever seen was in charge of a principal who had worked for six years to make the collective will of the pupil-body give its sanctions to good order, courteous behavior, and aggressive effort. Interest in school work and coöperation with the teachers had become distinct fashions. So powerful was the force thus generated and directed that the superintendent not infrequently transferred to this school pupils who had got beyond control in other schools of the city. Recalcitrant elsewhere, these pupils often settled at once into the dominant fashion of order and industry. The spirit of the social group seized them irresistibly. The social rewards which in other schools sanctioned disobedience, willful disorder, and idleness, went in this school to more laudable types of conduct; and the normal boy, craving the good will and the admiration of his fellows, sought these prizes through the only means that could procure them. To this school, also, teachers who had failed elsewhere were sometimes sent in order that they might regain their self-confidence and find themselves anew under the favorable conditions there existing. Not all of the recalcitrant pupils, of course, succumbed to the powerful group influence; and not all of the teachers were able to undo the mischief of their earlier failures: but the mortality in both cases was surprisingly low. — Bagley, *School Discipline*, pp. 5, 6.

Human Nature and Large-Scale Organization

During most of its existence mankind has been accustomed to little organization beyond primary groups, with direct communication as the bond of union between them. But now that mechanical means of communication to long distances have come, the scale of organization is being extended ever larger and larger. The individual is now held in a perfect mesh of interlacing institutions most of which are so large that they take their character from circumstances with which he has little acquaintance: they hold him so

closely to prescribed duties that he cannot notice the neighbors whom he sees every day. This new life runs counter to much that is in human nature. Knowledge has brought this difficulty; more knowledge must bring the remedy.

A large institution is obliged to make requirements which seem, to a person who has never had experience in it, like unnecessary restrictions on individual liberty. To refuse to conform may be no mark of superior ability, but simply a disqualification for participation in any large work. There is less room in the world for that sort of person now than there was formerly. Any public school is part of a large system, and the teacher who cannot follow directions or be on time at appointments will have a sorry time of it.

Human nature shaped by a primitive life in the woods does not easily meet the conditions of technical efficiency. Night duty, monotonous toil, and sedentary work are to most of us made tolerable only by habit. Still greater is the strain of being a cog in some intricate machine. Unquestioning obedience, for instance — how revolting it is at first to an intelligent person! Team harness may be cruelly galling to such as are not quick at personal adjustment. Punctuality, schedule, method, regularity of stroke, standardized performance — these surely go against the native grain. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 22, p. 13, Ross, "The Organization of Effort."

The state superintendent, talking to the graduating class to-day about the qualities of which they will have the greatest need when they get to teaching, rated adaptability above every other. The new teacher will find a strange situation. Ready-made plans, preconceived ideas, old habits, all must yield to the demands of the time and place — or at least grow to fit them. In general, the larger the school the greater the need of adaptability in the new teacher.

One of the difficulties is that these young men who come from a normal have the impression that there is nothing more to learn. I have not yet seen a Z. student who is really willing to take advice. It takes a year for them to get over that attitude. — A county superintendent.

One thing that counts much for a teacher's success is ability to carry out directions. Teachers of state graded schools, for instance, receive

from the state superintendent directions about the grading of pupils, the subjects to be taught in each grade, and the records to be kept. Yet when the inspector comes he more often than not finds that the teacher ignores some important direction and does not know where to find the superintendent's letter containing it. The teacher who comes in September to open school should be able to take the superintendent's letter and see that each prescribed piece of work is done just when it ought to be done. — A state inspector of schools.

A city superintendent makes these counts against a teacher nineteen years old in one of the grades: Is not careful to obey directions; does not report things out of order; goes out evenings with high school boys; once let school out fifteen minutes before time in order to reach a certain train.

Formalism

So far in this chapter the institution has been represented as the great constructive, conserving aspect of society. But it also presents another and very different aspect. Every good characteristic so far discussed is liable to perversion: in excess it becomes weakness instead of strength, and we may be certain to find it in excess at some time or other in every institution. Institutions are undermined and overthrown by the very forces that built them, or by counteracting forces which these call into operation. Is an institution a standardized form originated to meet a need? The members will at some time be found to worship the form and forget the need. Does the institution select its new members carefully? The persons who are excluded develop a social consciousness of their own and organize in opposition. Does the institution stand for a certain quality? Competitors and opponents learn how to meet this quality and take advantage of it. Does the institution make over its members into conformity with its type? This process stunts their growth and loses the originality they would have contributed. Does one institution bring together persons from various classes or groups? Since each member withholds the larger part of

himself for other forms of activity, the larger part may at any time draw away the smaller part with it. Is permanence a characteristic? The constituent persons who succeed one another like the drops of water in a waterfall are not alike either in original endowment or acquired qualities: unless they can change the institution to meet their need, they will either forsake it or disrupt it.

These various excesses in institutional organization are so interconnected that they are likely to exist together: they are all merely phases of the one fundamental weakness of formalism. "Institutional fatigue," one educator calls it. The characteristic quality of the primary group is that it is so small that there is no room for formalism to exist. The larger the institution, the stronger is the tendency toward formalism. Accordingly, we must expect to find it in the state, established churches, armies, railroad companies, city and national systems of education.

Formalism is likely to prevail in all the institutions of a country at a given time. There are fashions in organization as in everything else. For a time, public opinion will favor strong organization such as tends to run into formalism; then, for a time, the emphasis will be on freedom which tends toward anarchy. In the next chapter these two opposing tendencies will be more fully considered, and the alternation from one tendency to the other is an example of the rhythm in social development which is the subject of Chapter XV.

There is, finally, the relative inflexibility of all machinery composed of numerous correlated parts. No complex organization is prompt to adapt itself to rapidly changing conditions. Individuals who by themselves might quickly change their activities or their methods find themselves locked, as it were, in an iron system. . . .

Men in different departments of a large organization may become too specialized to take one another's viewpoint or to work smoothly together.

The organization becomes an end in itself rather than a means. . . . The educational system cannot be induced to consider the child and ask itself what real good it is doing him. Pious clergymen will labor to

advance the ends of their church after it has become a soulless ecclesiastical machine, the foe of true spirituality. . . . In general, it is outside, not inside, forces which keep an organization in proper relation to its work and to other interests of society. — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 22, pp. 10–12, Ross, "The Organization of Effort."

In human life every institution in its very nature is addicted to these four sins: dogmatism, opportunism, materialism, and schism. A damning list certainly. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 13, p. 425, A. H. Lloyd.

Thus it is from the interaction of personality and institutions that progress comes. . . .

It is also true that although institutions stand, in a general way, for the more mechanical phase of life, they yet require, within themselves. an element of personal freedom. Individuality, provided it be in harness, is the life of institutions, all vigor and adaptability depending upon it.

An army is the type of a mechanical institution; and yet, even in an army, individual choice, confined of course within special channels, is vital to the machine. . . . — Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 324.

". . . What you organize you kill. Organized morals or organized religion or organized thought are dead morals and dead religion and dead thought. Yet some organization you must have. . . . The reality of life is adventure, not performance. What isn't adventure isn't life. What can be ruled about can be machined. But priests and schoolmasters and bureaucrats get hold of life and try to make it *all* rules, *all* etiquette and regulations and correctitude. . . ." — Wells, *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*, p. 68.

. . . If a school is small enough to allow personal relations to prevail, it seems reasonable to strive toward recognition of the individuality of both teachers and pupils. But let the number of pupils rise into thousands, and it begins to seem hopeless to try to make provision for the individual qualities of anybody. The larger the school, the more nearly the factory spirit is approached. The absolute necessity of mass action in all external matters is self-evident, and that spirit is carried over directly into the instruction itself. . . .

. . . In a certain third grade the regular teacher was holding a recitation in music, in which the entire time was occupied with drill upon certain notes. When asked why she so emphasized the technique, she replied that she did not believe in it, but that there were twenty cards with notes that the pupils were expected to master in her grade, and that this work consumed all the time. Later, the principal in talking over

the music, likewise opposed the plan, but stated that he was powerless to modify it. . . . — McMurry, *Elementary School Standards*, pp. 187, 188, 193.

I made an alphabetical study of the standings of high school students in about a dozen high schools. Those whose names began with the earlier letters of the alphabet had higher standings than those whose names began with letters near the end.

"This institute almost wholly for the entertainment of teachers."

"This man purely an entertainer."

"Subject-matter of lecture good but not adapted to needs of primary or high-school teachers. Six teachers reading newspapers and catalogues. Majority of audience talking more or less, some reading all the time. At least six teachers were chewing gum. Hum of conversation all over the room. . . . One young lady [?] shooting flies. Another holding her hands over another's eyes. Young men and women signaling to one another across the hall. . . . One man lying down on three seats placed together. Several young men throwing wads of paper at other members of the institute. . . ."

The conditions pictured in these "snap-shots" are probably extreme cases, but they apply in a fairly general way to the compulsory institutes throughout the country. . . . — *School and Home Education*, Vol. 33, p. 350, Editorial regarding the Ohio Survey.

The problem in any institution is, of course, to harmonize these two opposing tendencies. In the phrase which Daniel Webster often used we must have "liberty *and* union." In our revolutions and rebellions we need to remember that institutions, with all their red tape and formalism, nevertheless have "a wisdom beyond the grasp of any one man."

Where there is no law there is no freedom. — Locke.

[Extension of public power] must be made in right directions, so as to stimulate and increase independence and the spirit of self-help, instead of lessening them. . . . Nothing could be more erroneous than to identify the let-alone policy with a real liberty policy. — *Yale Review*, old series, Vol. 2, p. 13, E. Benj. Andrews.

Revolutions are ambiguous things. Their success is generally proportionate to their power of adaptation and to the reabsorption within

them of what they rebelled against. . . . — Santayana, *Life of Reason*, Vol. 3, *Reason in Religion*, p. 83.

. . . Americans are not abstract, uncompromising thinkers. They are not like the men of the French Revolution, who would have dared to abolish the universe and recreate it on the morrow. . . . Because of our traditions, we are likely to make changes by indirection and to preserve the form while altering the substance. — Weyl, *The New Democracy*, p. 255.

Individual and Society

One of the old ways of stating the relation between the individual and society was in the form of an antithesis: the individual *versus* society. Herbert Spencer entitled one of his books "Man *versus* the State." Recent sociologists have shown that this antithesis is not correct. The essential point to their objection is that the individual is himself a part of society and so cannot be set over against it. And yet these recent refutations are not entirely satisfactory. There is something in the individual's relation to his surroundings which constitutes antithesis — a contrast, an opposition. The trouble is, perhaps, that the old antithesis is not so much false as incorrectly stated. We may begin our analysis of the problem with two very obvious propositions.

(1) Society is not a thing which exists apart from the individuals of which it is composed. A society or an institution is merely a group of individuals. What we study under the name of sociology is the relations which bind the group together or relate it to other individuals or groups as parts of a still larger group. We may study these relations apart from any concrete group and so make an abstraction of them; we thus get the generalized relations of science.

(2) Each individual is distinct from every other individual in both body and mind. All are related, of course, and any two of us may be much alike in bodily form or mental content; we may be identical in some respects, even may conceivably be identical in all respects; yet each is perfectly distinct

from every other. Every man's consciousness is just as certainly his own as is his body. Of all the things that exist, a person is the most clearly marked off from every other.

Now the antithesis is not between the individual and society, but between one individual and another. It is you *versus* me; you *versus* the person with whom you are conversing; the orator *versus* the person in the audience who catches his eye for the instant; David *versus* Jonathan. However closely the soul of David was knit with the soul of Jonathan, yet when Saul cast the javelin at David, it was a different experience to David from what it was to Jonathan. You and the person with whom you are talking are carrying on a running antithesis. Two persons look at a sunset. They do not observe the same things or have the same emotions. One speaks; the other responds with approval or disapproval, and adds his own further thought. As long as two persons are communicating with each other, their relation is an ever-changing comparison, contrast, opposition, a process of give and take like boxing or tennis.

What we call society is this personal antithesis multiplied many times. The tennis game of doubles is played by two persons on a side: A and B against C and D. There is first the antithesis between A and B, and sometimes it amounts to opposition: both start for an approaching ball, but one strikes it and deprives the other of the chance. A similar antithesis goes on between C and D. Then the A–B combination is in opposition to the C–D combination. In the same way a literary society, a city, a political party, a nation, even the whole human race, is only an intricate compounding of such personal antitheses. What we sometimes call the opposition between the individual and society is only the opposition between A and B, or between A and C–D, or between A and some larger group of which he is not a member. A student, for instance, opposes some officer of the school, or some teacher, or those persons in authority who are re-

sponsible for a certain policy. But no one of these or all of them together constitute the entire school; he himself is a part of the school. If the student severs his connection with the school, then he may possibly set himself in opposition to the entire school. That, however, is not likely, for, among all the people connected with it, there are probably some against whose work or policy he has no antagonism; any wholesale condemnation which he may utter is not literally true.

And so, although the individual is always a part of society in the broad sense and cannot be placed in antithesis over against it, yet the individual always stands in an antithetical relation to some other person or group of persons. This antithesis is of every degree, from friendly coöperation, a reciprocal interchange of services to the advantage of both parties, to mortal antagonism such as exists between two duelists.

"I haven't anything against you," said a boy to a teacher, when he was leaving school, "and I haven't anything against the school, but I can't get along with old X" (the principal).

"Society is a plexus of personal reactions." — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 18, p. 206, A. W. Small.

Topics

1. Does the enlightenment of the individual make him more mindful of the general welfare? Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 291–303.
2. The relation between freedom and order. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, pp. 392–404; Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part I, Chapters XIII, XIV.
3. The disorganization of higher education. Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 386–392; Gayley, *Idols of Education*.
4. Are we developing a new type of culture? If so what are the elements of it? Hanus, *Educational Aims and Values*, pp. 3–138; Eliot, *Educational Reform*, pp. 89–122, 275–300; Baker, *Education and Life*, pp. 69–79; Dewey, *School and Society*, pp. 77–110; Vincent, *Social Mind and Education*, pp. 114–146; Super, *A Liberal Education*.

5. The virtues of stupidity. Why do we distrust the clever? Carver, *Social Progress*, pp. 501, 502, Bagehot.

6. Read aloud to the class the italicized passage in Bagley, *School Discipline*, p. 63. Intersperse explanations in your own words.

7. Study the directory of social agencies in *The Survey;* the list of organizations and institutions in a city directory; the "Educational Directory," published annually as a bulletin by the Bureau of Education. Classify the organizations; count or estimate the number of each kind.

8. Explain in some detail how the work of schools can be measured and standardized. Monroe, De Voss, and Kelly, *Educational Tests and Measurements*, pp. 1–15, 241–302. The six chapters intervening between these two selections treat respectively of arithmetic, reading, spelling, handwriting, language, and high school subjects; bibliographies.

Problems

1. Give an example of outworn formalism in this school; in this class. Give examples of form or symbolism that are fit and useful. Give examples of disorganization.

2. If you should become a teacher in a high school what kind of student organization would you try to start or ally yourself with?

3. Cooley says that successful persons are likely to become "institutionized," *Social Organization*, p. 140. What characteristics are developed by long service in teaching? Should teachers and principals try to counteract this tendency? If so, how?

4. Distinguish "standard tests" from "intelligence tests."

5. Compare these two selections. Which is nearer the truth? —

With the progress of civilization, not only races, but also the individuals of each race — those at least of the superior races — tend to become more and more differentiated. The result of modern civilization clashing with our dreams of equality, is not to render men more and more equal intellectually, but, on the contrary, more and more different. — Le Bon, *The Psychology of Peoples*, p. 40.

. . . If the social good were the supreme end, as it is in a colony of ants or bees, the greatest differentiation of individuals for particular kinds of service would be desirable. There should be a hereditary class of laborers, of business men, of scholars, of artists, etc., and for the improvement of each class there should be inbreeding in that class. . . . In other countries and ages the development of hereditary classes and castes in human society has been tried, and survivals of it persist to this day, but they are only vestigial remnants of an old order. . . .

The whole development of modern society is in the direction of

racial solidarity and away from hereditary classes. . . . The modern ideal individual is not the highly specialized unit in the social organism, as in the case of social insects, but rather the most general all round type of individual, the man who can when conditions demand combine within himself the functions of the laborer, business man, soldier and scholar. . . . — Conklin, *Heredity and Environment*, pp. 429, 430.

References

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 8, pp. 8–20, Simmel; Vol. 13, pp. 523–540, A. H. Lloyd, "The Institution and Some of Its Original Sins"; Vol. 21, pp. 30–44, Langerock, "Professionalism: a Study in Professional Deformation"; Vol. 23, pp. 259–368, Kocourek, "The Nature of Interests and Their Classification"; Vol. 24, pp. 139–158, Ross, "The Diseases of Social Structures"; pp. 652–671, "Socialization." The first and the fourth of these articles are difficult.

Betts, *Social Principles of Education*, pp. 5–31, 55–58.

Coffin, *The Socialized Conscience*, pp. 55–69.

Conn, *Social Heredity and Social Evolution*, pp. 178–201.

* Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 313–355.

Dewey and Tufts, *Ethics*, pp. 428–439.

Educational Review, Vol. 43, pp. 168–191, R. C. Hill, "Secret Societies in High Schools."

Ellwood, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, pp. 313–328.

Fairbanks, *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 203–216.

Ferris, *Girls' Clubs*, pp. 355–364, bibliography.

Gesell, *The Normal Child in Primary Education*, pp. 296–309, emphasizes the importance of preserving humor and spontaneity.

Giddings, *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 429–432.

Giddings, *Elements of Sociology*, pp. 175–178, 204–216.

Gillette, *Vocational Education*, pp. 52–74.

Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 405–410, 431–445.

Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society*, pp. 353–371.

McMurry, *Conflicting Principles in Teaching*, pp. 231–236, "The Individual and the Social Whole."

Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education*. Under the names of the various countries and states are given accounts of their respective systems of education.

Monroe, De Voss, and Kelly, *Educational Tests and Measurements*, pp. 1–15, 241–302. The remainder of the volume treats of tests for particular branches of study.

National Society for the Study of Education, *Fifteenth Yearbook*,

Part I, "Standards and Tests for the Measurement of the Efficiency of Schools and School Systems"; pp. 23–40, Buckingham, "Notes on the Derivation of Scales in School Subjects, with Special Application to Arithmetic"; pp. 52–148, eleven chapters.

Robbins, *The School as a Social Institution*, especially pp. 34–37.

Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 411–431.

School and Society, Vol. 3, pp. 462–467, G. H. Albright, "How Teachers Mark"; Vol. 4, pp. 388–392, Hartman, "Grading Systems Again."

Scott, *Social Education*, pp. 1–22.

Starch, *Educational Measurements*, pp. 3–19, 194–197. Intervening portion on measurements for different studies.

For boys' clubs and gangs, see references at the close of Chapter V.

CHAPTER IX

GOVERNMENT

Unfortunately the word *government* is so exclusively a political term, it is hardly broad enough for our purpose, though usage compels us to adopt it. It has the usual inaccuracy of the figure synecdoche, the use of the part for the whole. Our modern life in a republic is full of self-directing groups of every conceivable name and serving every namable purpose. . . . — Fiske, *Boy Life and Self-Government*, p. 24.

. . . But in the Great Society instinctive action on a great scale is impossible. A hundred thousand men cannot surge passionately into Hyde Park. However completely they may be under the sway of Instinct, they will not get through the gates unless some one with a map and a list of marshals before him has worked out a route and a time-table. The vague impulses of modern nations can only result in corporate action on lines which some one, whether wise or foolish, has deliberately laid down. . . . — Wallas, *The Great Society*, p. 226.

In the division of labor between various members of any institution it falls to the lot of some to direct the work of others. This directing function is what we usually mean by government. We need to remember, however, that in a broad sense government inheres in the entire organization: it has its existence in the habits of every member — those who obey as well as those who direct; the latter could not exist without the former. The "consent of the governed" is always necessary, under a despotism as well as in a democracy; when it is withdrawn the institution comes to an end. Government is a universal feature of social organization. It inheres in every institution and even in the primary group. It is so universal that the words *organization* and *government* are often used interchangeably.

It is on its government that the coercive power of an in-

stitution depends. Public opinion and the looser phases of the social mind may do much in directing the activities of the members, but unless the group of people have some more effective way of dealing with the persistent non-conformist they do not have a government and so do not compose an institution in the sense in which that term is used here. In the course of the agitation before 1789 as to whether some effective authority should be set up over the Thirteen States that had recently won their independence, George Washington made the profound statement that "influence is not government."

The biological analogy may help to make this clearer. A group of people who have no government, no coercive power over their members, resembles an organism that has no nervous system. Of the many leaves which compose the foliage of the tree, each one gets what sunlight and nutriment it can for itself, but together they have no power to cut off the twig which is harboring a nest of caterpillars. Coral multiplies in that part of its environment where conditions are favorable and dies out where conditions become unfavorable: it does nothing to control its environment. The crowd out in a park on a holiday moves about somewhat like an amœba; it flows around an attractive object and flows away from one that is disagreeable or uninteresting, but it cannot compel any part of itself to do a disagreeable thing for the benefit of the whole; it cannot concentrate its energies. So the hundred students in a study room or library make no combined effort to deal with a group of disturbers. But a population with a government resembles an animal with a nervous system. A crustacean caught by one foot will sacrifice the foot in order to get free. A people having a government will combine their energies to exterminate wild beasts, dike the river, repel invaders, and suppress lawbreakers in their midst. Public opinion in society becomes public will, as feeling in the animal becomes volition.

The scientific study of government has been confined almost exclusively to the government of the state. As found in other institutions — family, business, church, school, playground, club — it has been noticed only as practical necessity required in each case. Teachers, for example, discuss "discipline," and "school management," but rarely does anyone think of the government of the school as of the same piece with the government of the state which the class in civics studies and the political scientists write volumes about. The peoples who have made the great improvements in political organization, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Teutons, have improved other forms as well. English history — to take the case best known to Americans — reveals a rich background of institutional life in guilds and other non-political organizations which astonish the worker on source material by their number, variety, and vigor, and which show where England learned the lesson of representative government.

It is to authorities, political, religious, scientific, and artistic, that we owe our order and progress. The highest formula in the promotion of progress is found in the proposition: *No civilization without authority.* — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 8, p. 420, Ludwig Stein, article in a German annual summarized.

A social function goes off better for being planned — having a government. All enjoy it more.

Our ball team at school was united in spirit, but we found out how poorly organized we were when we played other teams. We saw that they sacrificed for each other, had coaches on the side lines, and used a code of signals. In a short time we adopted all of these practices.

When fire drill was introduced the teachers were instructed about the different signals, and each in turn explained them to her pupils. I well remember the first day the signal was given. I had a second grade class reciting. Such a scramble there was! It was almost impossible to control the children, and even the teachers became excited. In some way the building was emptied. After this was repeated a few times it was as orderly and quick as could be wished. The minute the

gong sounded each child stood where he was, waiting for the signal from the teacher to form in line. Even the day the furnace was out of order and the halls were filled with smoke, the building was emptied quickly and without confusion.

During the past year I supervised the playground for the fifth- and sixth-grade girls. There is always need of supervision because the aggressive children try to overrun the milder ones. Then, too, there is much wrangling if there is no one to whom they can look for the decision of disputed points and to help agree on the best ways of doing things. If a teacher is present the children spend their energy in harmonious activity and cause little noise.

THE FRAME OF GOVERNMENT

. . . In exercising authority over children the teacher uses and combines the three primary functions of government. He is, in his one person, the lawmaker, the judge, and the executive officer. This is giving large powers into the hands of one person. He can use his own judgment as to how far a child has transgressed his law and as to the penalty to be inflicted. He can proceed at once to the execution of his sentence without interference. If he is a strong teacher he can be very arbitrary and tyrannical. In short, he exercises the three different functions of government in full measure. . . . No civilized nation today permits all three of these functions to be monopolized by one person or group of persons. But in the teacher, we take the risk and venture to combine all these high and difficult attributes in one person. He is called upon to work out the coördination and harmony of these and of other more or less conflicting elements. This constitutes the peculiar difficulty or problem that attaches to disciplinary and administrative work in education. — McMurry, *Conflicting Principles in Teaching*, pp. 39–41.

The threefold division of civil government into executive, legislative, and judicial, which was recognized in England in the seventeenth century, became established in the colonies and has persisted in the United States to this day, although England abandoned that division two hundred years ago, and other countries have followed England's later practice rather than her earlier one. Perhaps this artificial separation of powers, embedded in our federal constitution, all of the

state constitutions, and many city governments as well, is a reason why civil government is regarded in this country as so entirely foreign to any other kind of government. And yet the three phases of government really exist, and perhaps ought to be noticed in our small organizations more than they are, say as much as they are in the civil governments of other countries.

First a word as to constitutions. America is the land of written constitutions. From the Virginia charter, through the Pilgrim Compact, the union of the three Connecticut towns, and the Constitution of 1787, to the latest constitution of a local athletic association, we have had an experience in constructing forms of government such as has come to no other people. What young fellow with any ambition at all has never had a hand in drawing up a constitution? Who has not heard, or himself expounded, the function of a constitution? — to provide the framework or skeleton of the government, "that whereby the instrumentalities and powers of government are distributed and harmonized."[1] Who has not at some time in his life contended for the logical distinction between an article of the constitution and a legislative enactment as regards the kind of subject matter appropriate for each? What student of history has not worked over and over the manner in which an unwritten constitution comes to exist? There is no better exercise for a group of young people than to make a constitution for themselves and so come face to face with the problems of government. And it might be well if schools and groups of teachers would more often draw up a formal statement of the way in which they wish to be governed.

The Executive

In small organizations with voluntary membership the executive is usually all that there is to government. Here is

[1] Macy, *The English Constitution*, p. 6.

a piece of work to be done, too large for one person. To get it done efficiently the whole must be thought out beforehand with reference to the population and location at hand. It must be analyzed into its various portions, simultaneous and successive, with the requirements of each in time, money, materials, equipment, and personal ability. The persons must be found and instructed. When the work is actually started it must be supervised so that unforeseen contingencies may be provided for. There are always the idiosyncrasies of the persons; human nature cannot be surveyed like a piece of ground; no one can know beforehand who will be absent or tardy, who will misunderstand, who will be dilatory, who will be incapable of doing the work assigned. Weather, materials, equipment may force a readjustment. From beginning to end, from the first formulation of the plan to the clearing away of the last bit of rubbish and the closing of the accounts, someone must be on the watch for deficiencies, ready to push where needed.

Prearrangement and supervision tend to vary inversely to each other. The administrator shifts the emphasis from one to the other to suit himself. If he has the imagination to see the whole operation, if he works the best alone, if he is fond of figures and paper plans, if he is slow, he will arrange beforehand as far as possible and leave no more than necessary to contingencies. But if his mind requires the stimulus of the actual situation to do its best, if he is a good observer, if no hurly-burly can confuse him, if he enjoys mixing with people and makes them feel honored to receive his instructions, then he will develop the plans as the work progresses and will waste no time preparing for contingencies which never arise.

Another inverse ratio is between memory and records. The executive whose memory is weak or treacherous must have complete records, carefully systematized and always up to date. But a good memory allows efficiency with simple arrangements.

Here's a man who remembers 1243 teachers. He has their names, positions, and qualifications at his fingers' tips. Asked how he manages to remember the names and locations of teachers so well, he replied that he never attempted to memorize the list. His memory picture which serves him in such good stead was created through his visits to school buildings. He sees each teacher as she looks in her room at school, and her name is a part of the picture.

President A. was never known to forget a person's name. Until the normal school grew to over four hundred students he had only one office assistant, and she was the librarian besides. Aside from the treasurer and the supervisor of the practice department, the members of the faculty had no administrative work except what was involved in managing their respective classes.

In recent years institutions of all kinds have become larger and more complex. There is more centralized control of small institutions. Methods of doing business have changed. Fuller records have to be kept; more reports have to be made. To accomplish a given result, such as getting a pupil enrolled in a school, more letters have to be read and written, more telephone calls answered, more blanks filled out. The superintendent and the president mentioned above belonged to an order of things which has now passed away. It might be impossible to find their like to-day. With the mechanical arrangements for keeping records now in use, such as typewriters, mimeographs, card catalogues, loose-leaf books, and filing cases, the executive officer is not expected to remember so much. In fact the man with a good memory may be less reliable because he will trust to it and so fail to make the records complete; he will make it less easy for another to step into his place and carry on his work.

The high executive of to-day needs other qualities more than memory. He must be able to work the system; to spend long hours at his desk; to keep an unruffled temper in meeting all sorts of provoking people; to settle weighty matters with dispatch and wisdom. In conference or debate

he needs to unravel complicated problems quickly and express himself clearly so as to compel assent to his views.

. . . One university officer some years ago misread the figures for the grading of the campus and as a result misspent $50,000 for teams and men. . . .

"Fully three-fourths of my daily mail," testifies one, "has nothing to do with my institution, tho I suppose it is all more or less connected with education, if you will make your definition broad enough." — *The Independent*, Vol. 74, pp. 500, 501, C. W. Williams, "The College President."

. . . To be a "good man of business," a man must be able to interpret written or printed documents as easily as concrete persons and things, to think intensely on a series of unconnected and superficially presented problems, not because they interest him, but because they must be immediately dealt with; and to inhibit his thinking on each point the instant that it is time to deal with some other point. Some men will do such work for four or five hours every day with a sense of mastery and delight, even although they find it necessary to work another three or four hours daily against the grain. To others even the shortest spell of it is an agony. This is often the case with the men of artistic temperament and training, who are accustomed to get their results by waiting, in the attitude of creative effort, upon their subconscious intellectual processes. . . .

I have read that in some parts of India the natives call this type of Thought "bunderbust," and, being themselves incapable of it, are amazed that the sahibs can endure so much of it without suicide. . . . — Wallas, *The Great Society*, pp. 365, 366.

The Governing Class

Government is an affair of classes. There is a governing class and a governed class. Sometimes there is a sharp differentiation between them, as between employers and employees, or between teachers and pupils in a school. Sometimes, on the other hand, the one shades gradually into the other like the office-holders and non-office-holders in a literary society; the classes are there just the same, only there is no formal separation between them. A certain degree of

seniority in the organization is requisite in the governing class; time is required to get acquainted with the particular situation so as to be able to direct others with success. Even a person newly appointed to a governing position, like a superintendency, must depend on experienced subordinates at first.

It is quite obvious that all local government even on the smallest scale is, and must be, aristocratic. It is not possible for every peasant to undertake the office of Mayor; this will be filled by the thriving yeoman. It requires the leisure which only a certain prosperity can give. This alone, by excluding the mass of the population, modifies the law which tends towards Democracy. No State decree can alter this social necessity. . . . A certain superiority of rulers to ruled is inherent in all government, let it come through education, wealth, birth, or what you will. — Treitschke, *Politics*, Vol. I, pp. 162–163.

. . . Twenty men (if they be not all idiots, perhaps if they be) can never come together but there will be such a difference in them, that about a third will be wiser, or at least less foolish than all the rest; these upon acquaintance, though it be but small, will be discovered, and, as stags that have the largest heads, lead the herd; for while the six, discoursing and arguing one with another, show the eminence of their parts, the fourteen discover things that they never thought on; or are cleared in divers truths which had formerly perplexed them. Wherefore, in matter of common concernment, difficulty, or danger, they hang upon their lips, as children upon their fathers; and the influence thus acquired by the six, the eminence of whose parts are found to be a stay and comfort to the fourteen, is the authority of the fathers. Wherefore this can be no other than a natural aristocracy diffused by God, throughout the whole body of mankind to this end and purpose; and therefore such as the people have not only a natural but a positive obligation to make use of as their guides; as where the people of Israel are commanded to "Take wise men, and understanding, and known among their tribes, to be made rulers over them." — Coker, *Readings in Political Philosophy*, pp. 369, 370, James Harrington (1611–1677), "The Oceana."

In a school of five hundred students of both sexes the important offices in the student organizations are held by less than fifty persons, and an excessive proportion of them by the members of one male society with a membership limited to thirty.

In order to distribute the benefits which come to a young person from holding office, and prevent the student organizations from making excessive demands on the time of the more capable students, a rule has been adopted assigning a certain number of points to each office, and then limiting by points the number of offices which any one student may hold at one time.

Leaders

. . . The seat of honor may be placed here or placed there; but where McGregor is, there is the head of the table. I was once asked which is the best and most desirable chair in a theological institution, and could only answer, the chair which is occupied by the best man. — Harris, *Inequality and Progress*, p. 107.

The persons of greatest importance in government are the born leaders. While it must be granted that training has something to do with developing them, yet occasions for the exercise of leadership come to everyone, usually many times a day, and if the quality is there it will come out. This is the fundamental cause of hereditary nobility and ruling castes.

Leadership is of many varieties. There is leadership in thought and leadership in action. The thought may be quick, making the person a leader in conversation, or it may be slow: Darwin's work attracted no attention for thirty years; Mendel's discovery of the law of heredity won no followers for a generation after his death. Action likewise may be quick or slow. It may be painful, perilous, weighty, or the opposites of these. There is one kind of leadership for boys, another for girls; one kind on the playground, another in the laboratory, another in the debating society, another in the office. A full analysis of these varieties of leadership and of the qualities of each would transcend the limits of this chapter. The general qualities as they appear in school life may be shown by examples.

In the maturing of public opinion, as has already been noted (pp. 131–133), a clearly defined view must appear, and it is usually stated by one person. Still more, when opinion passes over into action, the directing function must have

unity of thought back of it. That means one leader. He may, however, be so merged in a primary group as to be not easily distinguishable. The group may be so harmoniously diversified that different kinds of leadership are borne by different persons. The spokesman who appears before the public may have a prompter behind him; the unerring judgment and unswerving devotion back of the voice of greatest weight within the group may be little known outside.

A teacher tells how she took a position in a school where the former teacher had been put out by the pupils. When she arrived at the room she found the curtains all pulled down and every pupil busily engaged in talking to his neighbor. The teacher went to her desk, picked up a newspaper which happened to be there and began to read. After ten or fifteen minutes the curtains went up and the room became quiet. She laid down her paper and said, "I knew you would soon be ready for work."

This illustrates one important quality: *self-possession.* The action of the superintendent on page 139 is another example of it. The leader always appears to be equal to the situation. To show irresolution, or even irritation, is to confess weakness. Self-possession is a complex quality, the analysis of which belongs to the psychologists. A certain toughness of fiber is sometimes a factor in it; but again, some persons are both sensitive and self-controlled.

. . . A thick skin is the first necessity for a modern statesman. . . . — Treitschke, *Politics*, Vol. I, p. 175.

Leadership takes two forms. One is executive ability; it is the immediate power over men that is exemplified in the military chief and in the employer of labour. The other is a superior insight into things that are mysterious to the common mind; it gives ascendency over belief and feeling; it is seen in the medicine man, the priest, the prophet, the man of science, the philosopher, and the teacher. The union of these two elements of leadership is seen in the highest type of the statesman. — Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 390.

A football captain was looked up to by all the members of the squad on account of his ability to direct the play of others, but he was far

from being the best player. I have seen him take off his suit and give it to another who would fill his place better. He was working for the success of the team, not personal distinction.

Here is another indispensable quality. The leader may be an egotist and identify the group with himself, but he must *not be personally selfish;* he must take the group with him to share in any glory or other good things which may come to him or them. There must be a bond of sympathetic understanding between leader and followers similar to that which binds the members of a congenial group together.

A good leader has *prestige.* He can do some of the necessary work better than anyone else. He has courage, never quailing before difficulties, so that he imparts his own steadiness to others. Above everything else, he has a reputation for sound judgment; then his subordinates obey his instructions even when they do not understand what is being done, trusting that everything is for the best anyway.

If the teacher were a true leader, he would have comparatively little need for the rod. But in the past, and it is true still in some places, the school has been the stronghold of dolts and dullards who did not have sufficient force of intellect or character to maintain a place in the world of affairs. Consequently they could not lead the young, and so they tried to drive them. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 11, p. 652, M. V. O'Shea.

Miss T. demands respect from both the practice teachers and the children. She is firm in requiring each to do his or her duty. At the same time she is sympathetic. In this way she gains the good will of all. I do not know a single practice teacher or child who would not do anything for her.

On the first day with the new teacher we were all very much surprised for we were used to having a harsh and unsympathetic man teacher. The new teacher was a lady who appeared the exact opposite in every respect. The school had long been known for its unruliness, and now some of the boys began to plan mischief, for the first day had created the opinion that the teacher was "easy." But before the boys had gone very far with their plan the teacher singled out the leader and said

calmly, "John, I wish to see you after school." At the interview the offender was given the chance to choose between leaving school and doing differently. The report of it spread through the school and as a result there was no cause for it to be repeated.

In a class that I taught in manual training there were seven boys. One was larger than the rest and the leader of the group. He was a very clever lad and would think of new stunts to do almost every day, to the great amusement of the rest of the class and the great discomfort of their teacher. But finally the problem was solved. I asked the boy to do some outside work. During this time I got acquainted with him and we were friends from that time. I had no more trouble with discipline in that class.

Class Selfishness

But the rulers may forget their function and convert a power intrusted to them to selfish ends. Since the individual is not wholly institutionized, but remains, as he should, a human being, the ordinary human tendencies persist even in the leader. When students go on a trip to represent some organization in their school, they rarely fail to make the most of the opportunities to eat, to see sights, and to get the luxuries of travel at the cost of their companions at home. This is all natural enough; they would not be normal young people if they did otherwise. But are they scrupulous to confine their expenses to things which are necessary or contributory to the purposes of their trip? One student alone may, but a group usually will not, as any teacher who has been on such trips knows well enough. The scrupulous ones will be overborne by the jibes and clamor of the others. Will the debaters add to their efficiency by riding in the parlor car? Will the delegates be keener parliamentarians if they give the head waiter at the hotel a handsome tip? Does the honor of the school require that the delegation to the oratorical contest take a carriage to travel two blocks? Such items are plausible enough to appear in expense accounts, and circumstances might be conceivable that would justify them;

but when they are challenged and have to be defended, the discussion is likely to be serio-comic.

These young people of course are thoughtless. In their eagerness for new experiences they forget how heavily the taxes bear on their fellow students. But back of this is their lack of standards; rational principles to guide them are only in process of formation in their minds. They have read some and seen a little of how others travel, giving special attention to the rich or distinguished. Now that they have some distinction themselves they try to play the rôle. If the school orator should come out first in the interstate contest, his fellow students might think the better of him for riding in the parlor car, and taking a carriage to travel two blocks, even though they pay the bills. On such occasions a popular impression easily runs to extravagance in financial as in other matters.

In situations like these the duty of teachers, faculty committees, and other older persons is to help the students to a better point of view rather than to exercise repression. Get them to agree upon some of the standards before the trip is taken, perhaps while the funds are being raised to defray the expense. Require the presentation of itemized bills. Keep to the tradition of having all bills go through a certain formality before they are paid, with the possibility of consideration at an open meeting. Have an auditing committee, with at least one faculty member on it, to go over the accounts of all student organizations at the end of the school year. By means of such devices deliberate public opinion, working intelligently for the general welfare, displaces mere popular impression as a regulator; some effective check is held on thoughtless selfishness. No class in civics can equal experience like this in forming ideals for the management of public business.

Among ruling classes that are at all permanent — and this obtains to some extent among students — standards

become established to regulate these delicate matters in which the narrow interests of a class of functionaries may conflict with public interest. Instead of letting the king and his cronies help themselves out of the public treasury, as was once the practice, there is now an allowance, called in England the "civil list," for the personal expenses of the members of the royal family. And so officials of all kinds — legislators, inspectors, supervisors, teachers — and the people who support them avoid trouble by having definite rules to govern all cases as far as possible. Sometimes the rules are established by law, but more often by precedent among the officials themselves. In the latter case enforcement depends largely on each man's professional honor backed up by the public opinion of the class.

The ruling class fixes the privileges, emoluments, and scope of activity of all the classes in the institution, its own included, also the relations between the various classes. Of course there are limits set by precedents, the power of other classes, the fear of possible consequences, and the necessity of doing everything ostensibly for the benefit of the institution. But the tendency is inevitable to fix these matters in the interest of the ruling class. It follows therefore that no ruling class can be trusted with irresponsible power. An occasional person may be, but a class never.

Each class or profession which attracts to itself many of the talented of each generation is quite sure that, if only society would submit to its guidance, all would be well. Yet the simple truth is that no one element is wise enough to be followed without question. The trouble is not any lack of ability, but the bias to which it is subject by reason of its *esprit de corps* or its distinctive work and manner of life. In spite of itself its judgment becomes warped by its special psychology. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, p. 801, Ross, "The Principle of Balance."

Much of the misery of the world has been due to the misdirection of the mastering and hunting instincts. Both are strong, and both are likely to operate crudely and to extremes. It is a bitter fact that ap-

parently not two men in ten can be given unlimited powers as rulers, generals or school-masters without grave risk that they will abuse it by hounding those whom they happen to dislike or those whom public opinion puts in a class below man, to be hunted or driven. — Thorndike, *Education*, p. 86.

When we published our high school annual the class authorized the business manager to take a trip to Minneapolis at our expense. He had relatives in that city at whose home he stayed, but when we questioned the amount of his bill he said that of course he had to eat and sleep while there! An itemized account was never rendered.

Two boys in a high school served as managers of basketball. They quietly allowed themselves a dollar a week apiece as compensation, although they posed before the school as doing the work out of pure patriotism. When the principal showed them that such conduct was just plain grafting, and placed before them the alternative of either arranging their accounts so that this compensation would appear in their report to be rendered to the school, or else of restoring the entire amount to the treasury, they chose the latter.

Supervision and Inspection

Any work in which two or more persons coöperate involves supervision. One must go ahead or think ahead, and indicate, though perhaps only silently by his own actions, what the others are to do. When the group is numerous, then special supervisors are needed. When the group is also there for the purpose of being trained, like the practice teachers in a normal school, then supervision of high quality is necessary; mere setting of tasks is not sufficient.

The function of the supervisor is to help the worker to find himself, to discover his own best way of doing whatever has to be done. Supervision must therefore be sympathetic — working, thinking, feeling, with the person supervised. The supervisor should be enthusiastic — should radiate success in every motion and word — though not at all in the spirit of self-display, wholly to set an example and to encourage. The discouraged worker must have kindly instruction. Nothing must be done to destroy self-respect;

cutting remarks must be reserved for the careless or supercilious worker. But the supervisor must have compelling power — something in him to make the corps of workers feel that their assignments are of tremendous importance.

When the hour comes to-morrow those children must be taught, and taught properly, whether you have time to meet your friend at the train or not. You are an officer in the great educational army, and you must do your duty.

Supervisory Control depends for its effectiveness upon agents who possess technical and expert knowledge of educational processes, and who are capable of employing that knowledge for the development and advancement of the institutions coming under their control.

. . . It is emphatically constructive, rather than merely executive. For its best results it demands the completest coöperation between the members of the teaching and supervisory staffs. For the proper exercise of this form of control superintendents, directors, and principals should be given entire freedom of action. Supervisory control does not lie within the legitimate province of the Board of Education or of other municipal boards and officers. . . . — Elliott, *City School Supervision*, pp. 11–13.

Inspection is quite a different matter. Its purpose is, not to give help immediately, but to evaluate and report for the guidance of authorities higher up in making future arrangements, one of which may be the dismissal or promotion of the person whose work is inspected. The inspector needs to have merely enough sympathy, or tact, to make his visit as little of a disturbance as possible. But the indispensable qualifications are, first of all, broad and accurate judgment, then thorough honesty, with plenty of moral courage.

There are two ways of judging a specialist of any rank, say a kindergartner or a teacher of Latin. One is by other specialists who are able to appreciate every step of the work; the other is by laymen on the basis of results merely. Either way has its advantages as well as its disadvantages, so that each needs to be supplemented by the other. The layman's

view is the ultimate test, but it may be enlightened and guided by expert views. Our school boards, boards of regents, and commissions of various kinds exist to represent and make effective the layman's view; they sometimes include specialists in their own number, but even then they must occasionally employ outside specialists to investigate, evaluate, and report.

The finances of institutions of all kinds have long been treated in just this way. The treasurer makes his report to the governing body. A committee is then appointed, including an accountant if possible, to examine the report and advise whether or not it should be accepted. In some states there are certified public accountants who make a business of auditing reports. If there is an error in the computations, or a payment without a voucher, or some overvaluation of assets, the auditor calls attention to it. No treasurer should be offended at this: that is what the auditor is employed for — to find any flaws that exist. Inspection is necessary in any large organization, and no one should resent being subjected to it. When the inspector calls, it is best to welcome him, to throw everything open to his view, and help him to find out what he wants to know. To appear reticent is certain to raise the suspicion that something is being concealed. Rather than be overcautious when under the eye of the inspector, it is better to push the work merrily along even at the risk of making some blunders.

Though supervision and inspection are so different in their nature, they are often combined in the same office. The person holding such an office is likely to emphasize one phase of his work at the expense of the other, which one that shall be depending on his nature. Most school principals, supervisors, inspectors, and superintendents have to do both supervising and inspecting, whatever the title of the office may be and whatever their ostensible duty may be. With young persons, and with new recruits of any age, supervision is especially needed. With persons fitted to their work by years

of experience, occasional inspection is needed to see how well they retain their efficiency and keep up with the times.

When we rise to the higher ranks of workers, those who are specialists in their respective lines and whose duties are not strictly standardized like those of bookkeepers, helpful supervision ceases to be possible, and even inspection is either perfunctory or else it is impertinent meddling: the inspector who makes an unfavorable criticism of an expert may have a war on his hands. The reason for this is not merely that competent supervisors and inspectors can no longer be found, but that the spirit of the workers is different. These high-grade workers are neither amateurs nor apprentices; they are masters. They are held to their tasks, not by the necessity of earning a livelihood or fear of discharge, but by sense of duty, loyalty to the institution, professional honor, love of achievement. To send an inspector to such a person is an affront, particularly if the purpose seems to be to find petty faults without coming to an appreciation of the larger results that are being accomplished.

Inspectorial Control is similar in nature to supervisory control, yet to be distinguished from it. . . . It differs from the supervisory activity in that its primary purpose is not personal, constructive service. Its aim is toward an impersonal, objective measurement of the results and worth of the school. . . .

There has not been, up to the present time, any widespread recognition in American education of the great importance of the inspectorial form of control. Yet, as the public schools have expanded and have become more intricate in their organization, so much greater has become the necessity of means whereby the essential operations may be subjected to a checking and valuating process. The schools have lacked an audit that would exhibit how well that which is being attempted is being done; an audit that would reveal the degree to which the machinery of organization is adapted to its purpose; an audit that would display the essential facts of census, attendance, and rate of progress of pupils, the accomplishments of teachers, and an anlaysis of the real cost in money of the several and numerous activities that enter into school education.

Inspectorial control should be exercised by duly constituted agencies

distinct from those agencies or individuals that are primarily responsible for administrative and supervisory direction. Otherwise, there will be no impersonal judgments of worth founded on actual results and accomplishment. — Elliott, *City School Supervision*, pp. 12, 13.

. . . A man who has to inspect the work of five hundred, or even a hundred, others must do so superficially. He knows nothing of the life and character of the man before him, and must judge by unimportant or accidental details observed at the moment of inspection (in a superficially organized army, for instance, mainly by the condition of a man's clothes or by his look of "smartness" on parade). Under such conditions, as a school teacher complained to me, "only the coarser and more obvious forms of success pay." Work (to use only words which I have written down after actual conversations) becomes "mechanical," "inhuman," "red-tapish," and those who have to do it become "system-sick" and suffer from "Potters' Rot."

What is worse is that the defects of any system of inspection which ignores the quantitative limitations of personal intercourse can be "played up to" by the baser kind of employee. A Washington civil servant was, I believe, typical of many thousand others when he complained to me: "The low-class man who cares only to draw his pay and intrigue for promotion is happy. The man of public spirit or with the craftsman's love of his work is unhappy. . . ."

Much has been done in almost all great businesses and services to prevent the more obvious faults of superficial inspection. The head of a great business is often warned that he must neither blame nor praise an individual workman for what he happens to see in a visit to the works. Confidential "dossiers" are sometimes kept of a man's whole career, which are consulted before any step is taken to promote or degrade him. But success in the art of "human" as compared to "mechanical" direction is, I believe, still largely a matter of accident. . . .

In this difficult task of adjusting the vastness of the Great Society to the smallness of individual man, one of the most useful ideas to be kept before the inventor of an organization is the "self-respect" of those who are to be organized. An important means of preserving that self-respect is, as I have just said, such a system of inspection and control as shall secure that a man is judged on his whole character and by his best work. — Wallas, *The Great Society*, pp. 334–337.

The School Survey

This large-scale form of inspection has been applied during the last half-dozen years to the school systems of several

states and cities. It consists in setting a corps of inspectors to examine the system as a whole and in all its parts, as preliminary to a thoroughgoing reform. As practiced recently it has been in part an outgrowth of the inspection and reconstruction of systems of accounting for cities and large corporations which was attracting considerable attention twenty years ago. More recently the Carnegie Foundation contributed to the beginning of this practice through the thorough investigation which it makes of a college before granting pensions to its retired professors.

One of the early surveys was that in Wisconsin which was made by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research. There were three parts of it, first the survey of the rural schools, then of the normal schools, and lastly of the university. The results of each survey were published in a pamphlet. Stenographic reports of recitations, both good and bad, were one feature of the reports. On the publication of the report on rural schools in the fall of 1912 there was an immediate outcry, which continued through the other two investigations, making about three years in all. The prevailing attitude in educational circles was one of resentment. In 1913 the Wisconsin Teachers' Association refused to appoint a committee to coöperate in an investigation of the high schools. But there is also no doubt that many weaknesses in the system were exposed, and that improvements followed, especially after the report on rural schools.

About the time the Wisconsin survey was started there was one in progress in New York City. Professor Hanus, of Harvard, was in general charge. He appointed ten of the most eminent educators in the United States, each one to inspect personally some feature of the schools and make a written report. Besides publication officially by the city, these reports have been published separately in a series of volumes called the "School Efficiency Series," one of which, by Professor Elliott, was quoted a few pages back. But

this survey caused a turmoil also. The city officials refused to receive one of the reports, and appointed two experts to make a new investigation. A review of one of the volumes says:

It is a good one-sided report. The system might have been more severely censured. It is barely possible. — *Educational Review*, Vol. 47, p. 153, J. M. Greenwood.

So much exposure of weakness in the school system gives occasion for irresponsible or light-headed or sensation-loving persons and publications to descend to mere muck-raking and give publicity to such sentiments as the following in the *Ladies' Home Journal* for December, 1914. No one, however, should be alarmed at such remarks, because no person of any consequence takes them seriously; perhaps the persons who utter them do not mean them seriously.

. . . The school system should be abolished. Our educators are narrow-minded pedants, occupied with the dry bones of textbooks and the sawdust of pedagogics, who are ignorant of the real, vital problems of human interest. — Boris Sidis, Harvard University.

American boys are being turned by education into a race of white Chinese, all cast in the same mental mold, incapable of any independent thought. — Sir Alfred Harmsworth, publisher, London.

Even the child of the tenement is better off out of school than in school. The whole system is fundamentally wrong. I think it ought to be abolished. — Woods Hutchinson, physician and author, New York City.

Improved Methods of Surveying

In later surveys effort has been made to avoid arousing the antagonisms which attended these two, especially by stating criticism of the work of teachers only in general terms so that the faults of no one are put on exhibition.

. . . In this report recommendations are made with respect to the further training of teachers, and the qualifications for those who may later enter the school system, but the commission has been careful not

to express any opinion concerning any individual teacher or other employee of the board of school trustees. This position seems to them to be fundamental in all survey work done by specialists, called in from outside the regular administrative or supervisory staff. — *Report of a Survey of the School System of Butte, Montana*, p. 4.

The report of the survey of Portland, Oregon, is published as a volume in the School Efficiency Series along with the reports of New York City. The surveys of Springfield, Illinois, and Cleveland, Ohio, were organized by Dr. Ayres, the educational representative of the Russell Sage Foundation, and their reports give large space to the commendable features of the schools. They, like the Butte report, make much of scientific tests and measurements. The Springfield survey was made as a part of the general social survey of the city. The Cleveland survey was the most elaborate and expensive of any yet made except that of New York. Each feature of it was published in a separate book of pocket size and handsome make-up, twenty-five of them in all.

In Illinois a survey of the schools of the state was undertaken at the initiative of the State Teachers' Association, with the special aim to find the "elements of power and strength," "to know the successes that these may be extended." In Leavenworth, Kansas, the survey was started by the teachers themselves, and the first funds for it they contributed from their own salaries. The investigators in this case contributed their services and were paid only their necessary expenses. In Topeka there was a general social survey, with the slogan, "A city surveyed is a city unafraid." The Ohio survey, to which reference has already been made, was inaugurated in the following manner:

There was no "playing hooky" in Ohio on November 14, everybody was in school on that day, parents as well as children, even doctors, lawyers, college presidents, members of the State Legislature — in short, every one who was interested in the welfare of the State's schools and school-children. Governor Cox had set aside that date as "School Survey Day" and had asked the citizens to assemble in the school-houses

for the discussion of the educational needs of the community, and for the election of delegates to the congress which will meet in Columbus on December 5 and 6 to formulate suggestions for presentment to the Legislature at the special session in January which the Governor has called for the express purpose of dealing with the school problem.

Last winter Governor Cox appointed a Commission of two men and a woman to find out how the schools of the State could be bettered. The Bureau of Municipal Research in New York City sent Dr. H. L. Brittain to aid the Commission, which undertook a study of the whole situation, enlisting the coöperation of the State Department of Education, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Congress of Mothers, the Collegiate Alumnæ, labor organizations, and, in short, every individual and group of individuals that had suggestions to offer. . . . — *The Outlook*, Vol. 105, p. 603, "An Experiment in Coöperation."

This enlisting of local and popular initiative in effecting reforms which necessarily involve disagreeable features is typical of a change which has long been in progress in government, and to which the next chapter will be devoted.

The Theory of Punishment

When the government, through its inspectors, surveyors, or other officials, discovers wrongdoing, it must apply a corrective. The old idea regarded any violation of the regulations as an affront to the majesty of the government; the wrong can be righted only by some triumphant exhibition of power over the offending person. The emotion of anger or resentment is back of the idea, and accordingly the injured person is the most appropriate one to inflict the punishment; in primitive society he was expected to do it, thus leading to family feuds.

A higher conception was reached when punishment was designed to prevent the repetition of the offense. Out of this came the pillory, the public execution, and quartering the body and exposing the members in some public place. This legal conception has played a great part in the history of

government, nor is it by any means obsolete now or likely to become so. This theory, like the preceding one, does not accord any rights to the criminal.

The sociological conception of punishment looks into the cause of the offense and seeks to remove it. The culprit is a member of society who is out of harmony with his environment; let him be given an experience which will, if possible, bring him into harmony and so restore him to good standing. In the study of the criminal class we found that the criminal is often only a person who was badly educated: let his punishment, then, be the completion, or supplementing, of his education. The hopeless offenders are to be segregated or got rid of with as little trouble as possible, though without cruelty.

And so punishment, necessarily coercive, no longer ostentatiously overrides the will of the culprit, but rather tries to enlist his will in new forms of activity which will be ultimately for his own benefit as well as wholesome socially. The prisoner, for example, is taught a trade; by good behavior he may secure privileges and shorten his term.

This new spirit in punishment is still another introduction to the next chapter; the theory of democracy is necessary to complete the theory of punishment. The next chapter, therefore, is in part a continuation of the one which is here concluded.

Topics

1. Conditions requiring more or less of government. Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 41–48; Giddings, *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 519–521.

2. The conditions on which the efficiency of an organization depends. Giddings, *Elements of Sociology*, pp. 222–230.

3. Describe Cooley's remedy for poor government. *Social Organization*, pp. 132–133.

4. The importance of leaders. Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 121–127; *Human Nature*, pp. 283–305; King, *Social Aspects of Education*, pp. 310–324; Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 350–359.

5. Describe some school survey, obtaining first-hand information if possible.

6. Describe some system of supervision.

7. Describe some system of inspection.

8. The function of punishment. Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 106–125; O'Shea, *Social Development and Education*, pp. 346–369, 499–535; Mosby, *Causes and Cures of Crime*, pp. 212–275, "The Theory of Punishment."

Problems

1. Are governments less moral than individuals? Compare the faculty of the school with some one teacher in it. Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 320–324.

2. Is the "consent of the governed" necessary in a prison?

3. Give illustrations from your own observation of the tendency of officers or a ruling class to become selfish. Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 376–394.

4. Illustrate the distinction between inspection and supervision by examples drawn from this school.

5. In what state of mind should punishment be administered?

References

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 18, pp. 77–91, Yarros, "American Lawlessness"; Vol. 22, pp. 1–18, Ross, "The Organization of Effort"; pp. 145–158, "The Organization of Will."

Ayres, *The Public Schools of Springfield, Illinois*.

Bagley, *School Discipline*, especially, pp. 14–118.

Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 349–369, 379–387, 388–398, 408–413.

Bureau of Education, *Report*, 1914, Vol. I, pp. 39–44, 79–82, 513–562, on school surveys.

Cubberley, *The Portland Survey*.

Cubberley, *Rural Life and Education*, pp. 306–327, supervision of rural schools.

Educational Review, Vol. 47, pp. 57–64, Dutton, "The Investigation of School Systems." This volume contains other discussions of school surveys, as also do the three succeeding volumes and some earlier ones.

Fairchild, *Applied Sociology*, pp. 325–332.

Gesell, *The Normal Child and Primary Education*, pp. 248–256.

Gettell, *Introduction to Political Science*, pp. 221–234.

Gettell, *Readings in Political Science*, pp. 326–340.

Giddings, *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 395–423.

Giddings, *Elements of Sociology*, pp. 316–330.

Goodnow, *Politics and Administration*, pp. 10–18, separation of powers; pp. 168–198, "The Boss."

Gowin, *The Executive and His Control of Men*, especially Part II, pp. 95–241, "Motivating the Group."

Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 611–616, punishment.

Hollister, *Administration of Education in a Democracy*, pp. 221–259.

Independent, Vol. 73, pp. 1121–1127, Moore; Vol. 74, pp. 193–196, Metcalfe. Discussions of the New York survey.

McMurry, *Conflicting Principles in Teaching*, pp. 12–47, seeks to harmonize contrasted methods of school management.

Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education:* "Administration"; "Centralization"; "Punishment, Corporal"; "Punishments and Rewards"; "School Management"; "Supervision of Teaching," with references; "Supervision and Inspection."

Morehouse, *The Discipline of the School*, especially pp. 1–12, 74–80, 109–120; 13–73, "Modes of School Government," three chapters; pp. 121–162, "Offenses Common in American Schools"; pp. 163–209, two chapters on punishment; bibliography.

Outlook, Vol. 85, pp. 603–608, Bruère, "Educational Efficiency: The Carnegie Foundation."

School and Home Education, Vol. 32, pp. 275, 318–322, 356–358, 363–372, rural school survey in Wisconsin.

Scott, *Social Education*, pp. 7–33, 43–57, 58–77, 94–101, 102–169.

Snedden and Allen, *School Reports and School Efficiency.*

Survey, Vol. 35, pp. 349–351, 354–361, 602–607, 610, 613, 614, survey of the University of Wisconsin.

School and Society, Vol. 4, pp. 551–556, Burns, "Cleveland Education Survey."

Towne, *Social Problems*, pp. 207–232, crime and punishment.

Willoughby, *The Nature of the State*, pp. 360–377, classification of governments.

CHAPTER X

DEMOCRACY

The general or public phase of larger consciousness is what we call Democracy. I mean by this primarily the organized sway of public opinion. It works out also in a tendency to humanize the collective life, to make institutions express the higher impulses of human nature, instead of brutal or mechanical conditions. That which most inwardly distinguishes modern life from ancient or mediaeval is the conscious power of the common people trying to effectuate their instincts. All systems rest, in a sense, upon public opinion; but the peculiarity of our time is that this opinion is more and more rational and self-determining. It is not, as in the past, a mere reflection of conditions believed to be inevitable, but seeks principles, finds these principles in human nature, and is determined to conform life to them or know why not. In this all earnest people, in their diverse ways, are taking part.

. . . A right democracy is simply the application on a large scale of principles which are universally felt to be right as applied to a small group — principles of free coöperation motived by a common spirit, which each serves according to his capacity. . . .

Discussion regarding the comparative merits of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy has come to be looked upon as scholastic. The world is clearly democratizing; it is only a question of how fast the movement can take place, and what, under various conditions, it really involves. Democracy, instead of being a single and definite political type, proves to be merely a principle of breadth in organization, naturally prevalent wherever men have learned how to work it, under which life will be at least as various in its forms as it was before.

It involves a change in the character of social discipline not confined to politics, but as much at home in one sphere as another. With facility of communication as its mechanical basis, it proceeds inevitably to discuss and experiment with freer modes of action in religion, industry, education, philanthropy and the family. . . . — Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 118–120.

Democracy has two different though related meanings. The original and narrower meaning is the one the Greeks gave to it who coined the word twenty-four hundred years ago: government by the people (*demos*, the people, *kratein*, to rule). The newer and broader meaning, expressed with fine shading in the above quotation, is keeping the door of opportunity open before every man — opportunity to share in all the good things of life as well as in government, to develop his latent powers and to use them for the promotion of his own welfare and that of such societies as he wishes to serve. This broader social democracy, of course, includes the narrower political democracy.

. . . From her nobles Europe has received much valuable public service for which she never paid, while America has paid her office-holders for much public service which she never received. Still the Europeans have paid infinitely more than the Americans for such service. We now see that to have faithful, high-minded public servants you do not need to maintain a landed aristocracy; what you have to do is to open attractive careers for trained men. In a word, the hereditary leisured have never rendered society a service which cannot now be had on far better terms from salaried, qualified workers.

. . . In truth, the leading element in a healthy democracy, recruited, as it is, from every stratum, more nearly comprises "the best people" than a titular nobility. A society following an élite made up of those who have met successfully all tests, of many who have come up under heavy handicap, is more truly "aristocratic" than one ruled by a privileged order. — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, pp. 82, 67, Ross, "Class and Caste: Equalization."

. . . A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. The extension in space of the number of individuals who participate in an interest so that each has to refer his own action to that of others, and to consider the action of others to give point and direction to his own, is equivalent to the breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and national territory which kept men from perceiving the full import of their activity. . . . — Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, p. 101.

Democracy, therefore, appears as a principle, deeply seated in human nature. It springs out of each individual's instinct

to achieve as corrected by the kindly instinct to allow his neighbor to achieve. It effectuates itself through public opinion in the government of institutions. It harmonizes the interests of all in proportion as communication is open between the diverse classes composing the population, some perhaps in remote localities. It is the Christ-like spirit that accepts as a neighbor the slave, the millionaire, or the Chinaman, for each, if given a chance, will toil for the common benefit in ways that are possible to him alone. Mechanisms of communication have so far annihilated space that the people of France are now our neighbors whose orphans we adopt. It is physically possible to bring the world into one neighborhood, as it were, to make of it a single primary group; the difficulties in the way are psychological — those of the social mind.

Responsible Government

The great problem in government is how to enlist the expert skill of a few in the interest of all; how to guard against the selfishness of the ruling classes; how to direct the directors. In general, the remedy is to have no irresponsible rulers, no autocrats, no irremovable officers; to regard each member of the ruling class as a functionary — the most capable person available to do a particular piece of work for the common good, and to make him answerable to public opinion for the proper use of the powers committed to him.

Pure Democracy

This means the government of a primary group. The officers are elected by a general assembly of the members and are answerable to it through the reports which they have to make of the progress of their work, and because any funds which they may need must be raised and voted by the assembly. The assembly may also legislate for them, that is, make rules to govern the activities of the organization, although

the legislation is usually initiated by the officers themselves to relieve them of responsibility or else to help them in carrying out their plans. If any wrong-doing occurs, particularly any violation of the rules of the organization, then the assembly acts as a judicial body, hears both sides of the case, and pronounces judgment, again acting largely under the advice of its executive officers. This assumption of the legislative and judicial functions of government by the executive officers is due, in part at least, to the character of the executive officers themselves. They are nearly always eminent examples in their own persons of the ideals for which the organization stands; the assembly elected them for this reason, and they in turn do their utmost to be worthy of the trust which was reposed in them. It is therefore safe to give them large powers. Another reason is in the simplicity of the organization. The assembly may at any time take hold of any feature of its government and direct it in any manner whatsoever by its own vote.

It is desirable to recall the discussion of public opinion at the close of Chapter VI (p. 144), and note how the most capable members of a group have a preponderating influence in shaping its opinion, provided, however, that the group is stable enough to be well organized, and that the opinion has been carefully matured. In any congenial group it is easy to see how naturally the leaders are held to responsibility for their acts. They are allowed to lead only so long as they are competent and appear to be working in the interest of the group. The leader who either bungles his work or seems to be acting selfishly is soon crowded out, by jeers or force if he does not yield to gentler pressure.

An assembly, however, is a clumsy instrument with which to handle administration or judicature, as every teacher knows who has worked in a faculty of a dozen or more. It acts slowly and unevenly; it cannot dispatch business; it is an extravagant consumer of time. When a meeting of twenty-

five teachers takes twenty minutes to decide that John is below grade in his studies, it uses the equivalent of a day's time. A single officer, or a committee of three, would have gathered all the essential information in ten minutes and arrived at fully as wise a conclusion, and probably with greater likelihood of conforming to precedents. An assembly, after electing officers, should confine itself to legislation for the most part, leaving administrative and judicial work to the executives.

These limitations on the functions of an assembly apply to any large deliberative body, whether popular or representative. Nor does it make very much difference how well-intentioned and intelligent the members may be. A college faculty will fumble a bit of administrative work as badly as a rural district school meeting.

There is a radical distinction between controlling the business of government and actually doing it. The same person or body may be able to control everything, but cannot possibly do everything; and in many cases its control over everything will be more perfect the less it personally attempts to do. The commander of an army could not direct its movement so effectually if he himself fought in the ranks or led an assault. It is the same with bodies of men. Some things cannot be done except by bodies; other things cannot be well done by them. It is one question, therefore, what a popular assembly should control, another what it should itself do. . . .

. . . In the first place, it is admitted in all countries in which the representative system is practically understood, that numerous representative bodies ought not to administer. The maxim is grounded not only on the most essential principles of good government, but on those of the successful conduct of business of any description. No body of men, unless organized and under command, is fit for action, in the proper sense. Even a select board, composed of few members, and these specially conversant with the business to be done, is always an inferior instrument to some one individual who could be found among them, and would be improved in character if that one person were made the chief, and all the others reduced to subordinates. What can be done better by a body than by any individual is deliberation. When it is necessary or important to secure hearing and consideration to many conflicting opinions, a deliberative body is indispensable. . . .

But a popular assembly is still less fitted to administer, or to dictate in detail to those who have the charge of administration. Even when honestly meant, the interference is almost always injurious. Every branch of public administration is a skilled business, which has its own peculiar principles and traditional rules, many of them not even known in any effectual way except to those who have at some time had a hand in carrying on the business, and none of them likely to be duly appreciated by persons not practically acquainted with the department. . . . — Mill, *Representative Government*, pp. 100–103.

Representative Government

Modern communication makes it possible for a scattered membership of any size to exercise governmental functions in much the same way as an assembly. Questions can be submitted to all of the members simultaneously, arguments pro and con presented, and votes taken. This method, first used in France, is there known as the *plebiscite;* in English-speaking countries it is usually called by a Latin name, *referendum.* The difficulty is to get the attention of the members without the devices which are employed in an assembly.

Representation is an older device for extending the democratic principle of the primary group to larger groups. In organizations with a membership so large or scattered that a general assembly is impracticable, a representative assembly is the most efficient organ of public opinion — in fact the only one which can result in steady and consistent public will. The ancient democracies of Greece and Rome never gave this device a fair trial, though they made a few attempts at it. Their ruling classes seem to have been so deficient in honesty that a community could not think of sending a representative off to a distant assembly to speak and vote for them. It remained for the English to perfect this instrument of government so that the rest of the world could not help but adopt it.

Representative government has reached its greatest per-

fection, the perfection which combines simplicity with efficiency, not in political institutions but in economic. The corporation with shareholders, which has become during the past century the regular form of organization for large businesses, is perhaps the best government that human ingenuity has devised. The central feature of it is the elective board of directors which combines executive, legislative, and judicial functions, and through its chairman supervises the administrative corps.

But the democratic principle of the primary group can thus extend to wider groups only on certain conditions. One is that the population be of common stock and language so that communication between the members will be easy. Another is that there be enough steadiness of character so that the natural kindness will develop loyalty to the group; the members must be able to trust one another. Still farther, there must be some natural capacity for administration. With these conditions present, there is a well-organized public opinion. Majorities are tolerant; minorities submit and help to carry out the will of the majorities. The most capable persons are put forward as leaders, and these leaders are guided by the public opinion of the group. Those who rule, in other words, are simply functionaries, like specialists of all kinds down to the humblest, who are employed by the organization for its own advantage. One of the rank and file then feels satisfied to see others in the high positions, provided they are fit persons and he shares in the public opinion which controls them.

Perhaps it should be repeated here that time is necessary for public opinion to become organized. The traditions of submission to authority and procedure according to law must become established. The processes by which rulers are chosen and constitutions amended must be so well understood and respected that the agitator who proposes revolutionary measures can get no support. The instinct must be cultivated,

by precept and by experience, which will select the really capable and trustworthy candidate rather than the demagogue. Russia is showing to-day, as Germany did in 1848, and France in 1792, and England in 1649, that democracy cannot be made off-hand.

. . . To restate it, . . . we should begin by recognising that democracy means or may mean two things which, though allied in idea, are not necessarily found together in practice. In its most obvious meaning, democracy implies a direct participation of the mass of ordinary citizens in the public life of the commonwealth, an idea most nearly realized, perhaps, in the great assemblies and large popular juries of Athens. This idea . . . has lent support to the superstition that the highest and most difficult of public functions can be safely entrusted to the ordinary honest and capable citizens without the need of any special training as a preliminary. Here is precisely the point where the contrast of a small, primitive, simple community with the vast complexity of a modern nation is of fatal importance. The village elder, a simple, well-meaning man, knowing his neighbors, and familiar with the customs of the countryside, may doubtless administer patriarchal justice to the general satisfaction under his own vine and fig tree, but summon him to the administration of an elaborate and artificial system of law and, unless he is a genius, he must break down. Hence in the teeth of theory and of the interests of the party machine Americans are being driven to the formation of a regular civil service of trained administrators on the European model.

With the formation of a regular civil service democracy in its first and most obvious form disappears. There remains the second idea, the idea of ultimate popular sovereignty. In this conception the part played by the individual man becomes less important than the part played by the people as a whole. It is held that the details of government are for the expert to arrange, but the expert administrator holds from the people, receives their mandate, and stands or falls by their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the result. The people are the ultimate authority, but only the ultimate authority. An immediate power is delegated to politicians who make a business of public affairs and through them to civil servants with a professional training in administration. It is admitted that the popular judgment can only be formed on the broad results of policy, and must be as much a judgment of persons as of things. . . . — Hobhouse, *Democracy and Reaction*, pp. 148–150.

Equality

Though the term "democracy" means government by the people, we no longer hold the fatuous notion that all men are equally fitted to administer those institutions which a people establishes for the necessary conduct of its affairs. Our government has at times been run on the theory that every citizen was qualified to be at least a cabinet officer if not indeed president. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, p. 763, C. H. Grabo, "Education for Democratic Leadership."

Democracy has sometimes been taken to mean equality, Thomas Jefferson's statement in the Declaration of Independence being the most notable example. But everybody knows that men are not equal in stature, or strength, or mental ability, or moral character; nor is it either possible or desirable to make them equal by any kind of education. Equality before the law is a useful principle for legislators and courts to follow, and equal opportunity is a useful principle for the educator to follow. But it is well to remember that identically the same law affects two men differently: equal treatment by the law does not make the men equal before the law. Identically the same opportunity before two boys, say, to learn a trade, is equal only in such externals as the equipment and teachers provided; viewed as opportunity of which the boys can avail themselves, it is a different opportunity to each. Men are equal simply in being men and citizens; in other respects they are different and have different needs. Society can meet these needs only in proportion as it is well organized, and that, as we have seen, means recognizing the differences between individuals and making suitable provision for each. Perfect adjustment to the needs of each person is a splendid goal to work for, but as impossible of attainment in practice as any other kind of perfection. The government of an institution can only do its best to give each of its members a fair chance; the interest of all as well as of each demands that he should have it.

. . . Schools, universities, libraries, galleries, operas, and circuses may yet be open to all, but they will not be really open for those who cannot appreciate them. Picture-galleries are no opportunity to a blind man, nor to a man æsthetically blind. Symphonies are no opportunity to a dull man, nor bull-fights to a refined man. Even if all wealth were possessed by the community and public provision were made for all wants, there could be no equality. . . .

Opportunities can be equal only if men are equal. . . .

. . . Democracy should replace the aristocracy which depends on accident of birth by the aristocracy of merit, should set aside the aristocracy which buys place with gold for that which earns place by capability and distinguished service. But when democracy stands for a great leveling down and a slight leveling up, when it will have no aristocracy at all, its doom is sealed. — Harris, *Inequality and Progress*, pp. 100–101.

It was through the Declaration of Independence that we Americans acknowledged the *eternal inequality* of man. For by it we abolished the cut-and-dried aristocracy. We had seen little men artificially held up in high places, and great men artificially held down in low places, and our own justice-loving hearts abhorred this violence to human nature. Therefore, we decreed that every man should thenceforth have equal liberty to find his own level. By this very decree we acknowledged and gave freedom to true aristocracy, saying, "Let the best man win, whoever he is." Let the best man win! That is America's word. That is true democracy. And true democracy and true aristocracy are one and the same thing. If anybody cannot see this, so much the worse for his eyesight. — Owen Wister, *The Virginian*, Chapter XIII.

. . . Modern democracy, accordingly, depends for its success upon inner freedom of thought and judgment in the individual, upon freedom of intercommunication among individuals, and upon the untrammeled expression of public opinion. . . . It strives to secure "an adequate life for all." The growth of barriers that obstruct sympathy and understanding among different elements of the population will, in the long run, probably be just as fatal to democratic society as the growth of barriers limiting the free interchange of ideas and the free expression of popular will.

. . . In a world where efficiency counts, absolute or dead-level equality in any social group would be fatal. What democracy protests against are the artificial inequalities produced by artificial social distinctions. It recognizes the potentially equal social worth of every man, and it would give to every man an equal chance to demonstrate his social worth; but it does not object to such class distinctions in society as are

based upon individual merit and fitness. No system of social control could work for long that did not recognize fully the social importance of individual merit, that is, of original and acquired differences among individuals, and that did not give different rewards for different services.

. . . There are movements, to be sure, in all democratic countries toward absolute social equality and absolute social liberty — known as "egalitarianism" and "anarchism" — but these should not be confused with democracy. They may be mistaken interpretations of its spirit; but they are menaces of democracy, for they both negate social control. — *The International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 28, pp. 501, 503, Charles A. Ellwood, "Democracy and Social Conditions in the United States."

FREEDOM

. . . Freedom is the more or less limited capacity of the highest organisms to inhibit instinctive and non-rational acts by intellectual and rational stimuli and to regulate behavior in the light of past experience. Such freedom is not uncaused activity, but freedom from the mechanical responses to external or instinctive stimuli, through the intervention of internal stimuli due to experience and intelligence. — Conklin, *Heredity and Environment*, p. 406, first edition; 482, revised second edition.

This is freedom in terms of physiology and psychology. Social freedom assumes the presence of this freedom in the individuals composing the group. An institution can allow large liberties to its members only on condition that they intelligently direct their conduct so as to further the ends for which it exists and inhibit their impulses to action that would be detrimental. Intelligence and inhibition are the two legs on which freedom must walk.

Freedom and democracy are closely related. Freedom is so precious that the members of a self-governing group will impose upon themselves no more restrictions than are necessary. Democracy assumes that human nature is essentially good. If the common man can be trusted to govern others, he can of course be trusted to govern himself.

Although the power to coerce is implied in the very nature of government, yet the coercive element has shrunk to a

small proportion of its former prominence. Rulers have learned that it is easier to lead people than to drive them. Serfdom, slavery, and guild organization, which formerly fixed the industrial status of large classes of the population, have now nearly disappeared. Old caste systems have weakened. Each person is now free to select the costume, manners, and recreations which suit him best; to get into the social circles for which he is able to qualify; to associate with the persons who are agreeable to him and to whom he can make himself agreeable.

This personal liberty is not altogether a gain, but sometimes has its disadvantages. Just as some persons are strong and some are weak, so also some are wise and some are foolish. Some conduct themselves for their own advantage and that of the community, while others never fail to get into trouble wherever they go or whatever they do, and would be better off with less liberty. Some misunderstand themselves and try to get into occupations for which they lack talent; the result is only the more disastrous the greater their perseverance. Furthermore, in the life of any one person the freedom to choose an occupation is only transient. The youth with life before him has liberty to choose his career; but after he has once chosen and made his preparation he can change only at a loss, and as he advances into middle life change becomes practically impossible.

Then there is the liberty to form private organizations, and the freedom that is permitted them after they are formed. Private institutions differ from political or public, such as the state, the city, and the public school, in that they do not include all of the persons of a given age in a given locality; membership in them is optional. Their coercive power is therefore limited; the extreme penalty they can inflict is forfeiture of membership. That means that their power to discipline is limited by the benefits they confer. A business partnership, a literary society, an athletic club, can impose

fines on its members if they will submit rather than be expelled and thus lose all the privileges of the organization.

These private organizations and institutions have multiplied tremendously — large and small, industrial, recreational, educational, religious, and many to promote this or that activity by the civil government itself. Formerly the civil authorities opposed free organization because they feared it, thinking that it meant opposition to themselves. In some countries the law prohibited the assembling of more than five persons. Now, however, the civil authorities permit and protect private institutions of all kinds, excepting merely those likely to be dangerous to the public. They have made the discovery that persons engrossed in private enterprises have little time to foment conspiracies against the public authority, and are not disposed to risk their lives and property in that way as much as persons whose private activities are cramped. Then, again, as has already been observed, membership in a variety of organizations tends to make a person conservative; multiplying his interests means that no one of them will develop explosive intensity. The likely young man who comes to town finds a dozen institutions competing for his favor. Any one of them can therefore enroll him as a member and hold him only by offering the maximum of satisfaction and the minimum of coercion. A century ago, to cite a single example, each country had an established religion, or at least one so prevalent that the person who wished to avoid trouble was practically forced into conforming to its requirements. Now, in the newer countries, a town of a thousand population offers the choice of several churches, and the man who does not attend any of them may still be a leader in politics, industry, or even education — a condition to which the older countries are approximating.

Similar in principle is the local self-government which is accorded to public and private institutions alike. Each town, village, school, church, lodge, or trade union is an autono-

mous unit except as it is joined with other units for ends which it could not secure singly. Wisconsin, for instance, is doing away with the small rural schools, not by forcing the districts to consolidate but by offering financial aid to consolidated schools.

This substitution of voluntary coöperation for enforced subjection has contributed to human happiness in a degree that is simply inconceivable. Well do France and the United States, the twin-born democracies, exalt the emblematic figure of liberty. But all the countries of the world have felt the life-giving touch of freedom. England developed the largest measure of it in early modern times, and now has it in full measure. Prussia evolved an installment of it in 1808 and another in 1848 along with several other countries of Europe. But this growth of freedom and its share in the marvelous progress of the last century is a long story.

. . . James B. Angell who, for thirty-eight years preceding his retirement in 1909, was president of the University of Michigan . . . had, in the first place, a notable faith in human nature, in the better instincts of the young and the good sense of the plain people, which made him patient and optimistic in the midst of manifold trials from the vagaries of the populace both inside and outside of his institution. "Never lose faith in the boys and girls," I have heard him say to an assembly of teachers, and no sentiment was more spontaneous than this in his own mind. — *The Survey*, Vol. 36, p. 116, Cooley, "A Builder of Democracy."

. . . Freedom enables an intelligent and good man to do better things than he could do without it; and when it is thus used it stimulates progress, and intelligence, and goodness. But it must be remembered that this same freedom allows an unintelligent or bad man to do worse things than he could do without it; and that if this happens on a large scale it may prove destructive to the resources, and even to the safety, of the commonwealth. . . . — Hadley, *Freedom and Responsibility*, p. 44.

. . . It was only after a long and terrible experience with debt slavery that the ancient lawgivers recognized that free will is not always a will to freedom and that they denied a man the power to bind himself into thraldom or to pledge his person for the repayment of a loan.

Gradually it was found necessary to recognize in the normal individual certain powers essential to self-effectuation, of which he cannot divest himself, *i.e.*, "inalienable rights." Hence modern law gives no force to a contract which without due equivalent cripples one's future freedom to act or to contract, *e.g.*, to live in a certain place or outside a certain place, to marry or not to marry a certain person, not to carry on one's trade or business, not to exercise the right of franchise or to exercise it in a certain way. . . .

Society will not permit the surrender of rights essential to the public welfare. . . . Legal standard insurance policies have virtually removed insurance from the domain of contract. Personal safety is not to be contracted away; one cannot legally bind himself to engage in dangerous work or to remain in a dangerous place. . . . In all these cases, what at first glance appears a fetter on the worker's freedom to contract is really an enlargement of his freedom, since it prevents the stronger from snatching out of the passing distress or dependence of the weaker a lasting advantage over him.

Thus we see that the celebrated assertion of the American Declaration of Independence that men "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights" is not a "glittering generality," but the epitome of a great historic movement. — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, pp. 70–72, Ross, "Class and Caste: Equalization."

Freedom in the School

Nowhere has this change been greater or more productive of results than in the school. The pupil's interest has replaced a great part of the old "discipline." Instead of the rod we now have the gymnasium.

The effect of organization was seen in the difference between fall and spring. In the fall there was little organization. The boys gathered in groups trying to see what mischief they could do, and a great deal they found too. In the spring a baseball team was organized. Every night after school and many times in the evening after supper the boys met for practice. They had a legitimate place to use their energies and no more mischief was done.

In higher educational institutions there was formerly much hilarious rowdyism. Upper classmen would haze the freshmen. Students of all grades would play pranks on

the school officers, the janitors, the townspeople. It was great sport to clip the tail of the president's horse, place the skeleton in a professor's chair, and transpose the signs of merchants. But now, with debating leagues, oratorical contests, student publications, musical clubs, dramatic clubs, and athletics of many kinds, the students have other use for their time and energy. Some teachers doubtless deliberately foster such "outside" work because it helps in preserving discipline, a few because they find it an interesting diversion, but to most of us it has become simply a conventionality. In a broad sense such activities are not "outside" at all; the football game and the intercollegiate debate are as much a part of the institution as an examination. When the curriculum was narrow, only a minority of all the children even started on it, and few of these went far in it. Now the varied program holds the greater part of all the children for six or eight years, while the proportion who continue for twelve or sixteen years is many times as great as formerly. Of course the appeal to the child's interests is not the only thing that has caused this increase in the school population, but it makes one shudder to think how much compulsion would be necessary to keep the present attendance with the old curriculum, and how much flogging would be necessary to keep the school in order.

The maxims are, first, that the individual is not accountable to society for his actions, in so far as these concern the interests of no person but himself. Advice, instruction, persuasion, and avoidance by other people, if thought necessary by them for their own good, are the only measures by which society can justifiably express its dislike or disapprobation of his conduct. Secondly, that for such actions, as are prejudicial to the interests of others, the individual is accountable, and may be subjected either to social or to legal punishments, if society is of opinion that the one or the other is requisite for its protection.

. . . No person ought to be punished simply for being drunk; but a soldier or a policeman should be punished for being drunk on duty. . . . — Mill, *On Liberty*, pp. 166, 167, 145.

Sunday evening, the head of the school with whose team the Bloomington team had played, called me on the 'phone and said that Saturday night some persons had painted B. H. S. on some parts of his building and that it would seem to be the work of students from the Bloomington High.

Early Monday morning I sent workmen over to Normal to remove the painted letters from the building.

Only a few persons in our school knew the painting had been done, so that all were expecting the usual celebrating in the assembly room before regular school work Monday morning.

. . . I called three or four of the team and one or two others to come into the corridor a moment before I entered the assembly room to talk to the school. I told these few how the school had been disgraced and that we could not have heart for any rejoicing. Then we went into the assembly, where more than five hundred pupils were tensely waiting for the celebrating to begin.

. . . I stood before them and in as kindly a manner as I could, told them how, just at the time when we had hoped to rejoice over a great game, some persons had trailed Bloomington High's banner in the dirt so that we stood as a school disgraced; that I knew our school did not stand for such work and that I hoped as a school they would express themselves against it; that it was an offense for which there could be no excuse, the defacing of public buildings erected for educating boys and girls. . . . Yet while I strongly condemned the deed I said no unkind thing of the doers. When I ceased speaking the school cheered heartily in favor of what I had said.

I had scarcely finished speaking when one of the leading athletes rose to his feet and made a strong speech against the painting, calling upon the school to stand against it. Another boy moved that the school express itself against all such acts of vandalism by a rising vote. Another seconded the motion. One of the boys acted as chairman and put the motion. The school almost unanimously voted in favor of the motion.

One after another of the boys was called upon by the pupils to speak and almost every one condemned the painting. . . .

The next speaker called upon came to the front and in a manly way said: "I'm sorry for what was done Saturday night, and I'm sorry I helped to do it. I *did not put* paint on the building but I carried a paint bucket and brush and helped paint B. H. S. on some of the sidewalks. I did not realize what I was doing and I'm sorry that I did it." Then he quietly sat down.

This confession captured the school, and they cheered him and cheered him.

Without lessening in any way the feeling against the painting, I thanked him for his frank statement.

The assembly was then dismissed and the work of the day moved on as though nothing had happened.

I called the boy who had so openly confessed his part into my office and again thanked him for the stand he had taken. I then said that I wished to talk with him, but that I did not wish him to tell me the names of any others who had taken part in the painting, but to ask him to say to them I hoped they would confess.

He said, "Mr. Stableton, I think they will every one come in and confess." And every one did.

. . . After talking the whole affair over with them in a pleasant manner, with no disturbed feeling on the boys' part or mine, I said that they must pay the bill for cleaning off the paint. . . .

The decision met their approval and the approval of the school and so the affair passed from notice with perfect good will prevailing. They paid the bill. — *School and Home Education*, Vol. 34, pp. 59–61, J. K. Stableton.

Anarchists vs. *Socialists*

The people who live under coercion, being in constant antagonism to their government, naturally get into the habit of thinking that government of any kind is an evil and so there is a school of social philosophers who carry this movement toward freedom to the limit and look for the complete elimination of the coercive element in society. They call themselves anarchists (Greek, *a*, without, and *archein*, to govern). They do not believe in the rule of the majority, but would require unanimous consent. History gives numerous examples of the drift toward real anarchy that sets in when a revolution suddenly overthrows an undemocratic government, as witness England in 1642, France in 1789, and Russia in 1917. And then at any time the diffusion of anarchistic principles encourages persons who are non-conformists by temperament to oppose even a democratic government. If such a person chances to be not well balanced mentally, perhaps having also a longing for martyrdom, he may become the most dangerous type of criminal.

The philosophical anarchist, however, cannot be condemned merely because his teachings mislead the weak-minded, though he certainly has a responsibility there; he must be met on his own ground, and there is no better place to do this than in the school with its subsidiary organizations. Let the pupils discover in their own self-governing organizations that neither large undertakings nor quick action can wait for unanimous consent; also that there must be discipline to bring the slackers and the wayward into line.

There are some educational philosophers who might be classed as anarchists. They would have the teacher abolish all discipline in school and control the child through his interests. This is a splendid ideal to set before a teacher, especially when control through interests means, not superficial inducement, but rather incitement, the development of an inner motivation which will carry him in the right direction even through difficulties and by dint of strenuous effort. We may even confess that education is a failure except in so far as it accomplishes just this result. But suppose a teacher has forty pupils and fails to accomplish this with one of the forty. Suppose she has tried sending him for the box of chalk, or giving him extra construction work, or making him monitor of the class; he is still the persistent disturber. Suppose even that other teachers have been able to control the boy, but that she, having her limitations, has failed. Should she let the work of the thirty-nine be broken up by the one? A teacher of experience who subscribes to such a doctrine would be hard to find. No officer of a student organization applies it consistently when it becomes a question of enforcing on others the rules which he has helped to make. Anarchism may be an attractive theory when we reason *à priori* about things at a distance. As applied to school, it appeals frequently to parents, and sometimes to school boards. But in practice it breaks down in school, as in any other organization.

In the theory of government the opposite pole from anarchy is socialism. If the one would have no coercion, the other would have coercion everywhere. The readiest person to answer an anarchist is a socialist. They are alike only in that both are radical reformers who are offering a panacea. The socialist's panacea is one big organization which is to take charge of all coöperative work. State socialism is the plan of making the state that one big organization in order to get rid of the evils connected with the control of industry by capitalists. This organization must be coercive in order to bring every person within it and keep out competition. Socialism, too, is an attractive theory to speculate about. Anyone can write offhand a long list of needs now met by individual or competitive effort which, it would seem, could be met better and at less cost by a single organization.

. . . Anarchism and Socialism, in spite of the fact that they are so often confused, both intentionally and unintentionally, have only one thing in common, namely, that both are forms of idolatry, though they have different idols; both are religions and not sciences, dogmas and not speculations. Each of them is a kind of honestly meant social mysticism, which, partly anticipating the possible and perhaps even probable results of yet unborn centuries, urges upon mankind the establishment of a terrestrial Eden, of a land of the absolute Ideal, whether it be Freedom or Equality. . . . — Gettell, *Readings in Political Science*, p. 482.

. . . The age at which efficient judicial and legislative power appears differs in different groups. One thing, however, is clear; so soon as these faculties do appear, they should be exercised, the children being let alone enough to feel the pinch of anarchy and the pressing need of overcoming it. A baseball game, for instance, should seldom be umpired from the outside. The baseball microbe is strong enough to survive the spirit of anarchy in almost any group, and the practice it enforces of maintaining social order from within contains the most valuable lesson of the game. On the other hand, they ought not to be left to themselves when the consequences will merely be the triumph of anarchy with its results of loafing, bullying, and desultory mischief. It is a question of fact in each case. . . . — Lee, *Play in Education*, pp. 331, 332.

(See again the selection from Ritchie on p. 142.)

So under socialism, more slowly and perhaps after the lapse of a generation, the directors of labor and the distributors of food, peaceful Janissaries of the new order, would form themselves into a caste, very close, very coherent, . . . and would close their ranks round a chief who would give them unity and the strength of unity. — Faguet, *The Cult of Incompetence*, pp. 64, 65, published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

Democratic Government in Schools

It is evident that the world is to make a trial of democracy. Whatever one may think about it, the sensible course must be to work with it sympathetically in order that we may learn as much as possible about it, realize the best there is in it, and overcome the weaknesses as far as possible. The largest experiment so far has been in the United States. The schools of this country should not be backward in taking their share of the experiment. The more participation young persons have in organization work while they are in school, the more efficiently they will take up the work of the body politic when they come of age.

The school with which I am connected has had a system of self-government since 1896. It was started by a teacher who is now president of a state university. It has been through many vicissitudes but has remained unchanged in essential character. There is, however, nothing distinctive about it; it is probably no better, or worse, than the many other systems in existence. It is often pronounced a failure by members of the school, but it has justified its existence simply as an object lesson in government. I have learned more from it about what democracy is than from all the reading I have ever done. In my classes in history and sociology it often happens that we do not seem to get to the meat of the subject till we find an illustration for it in our own school experience.

. . . The sobering influence of responsibility naturally fosters true manliness and reduces cases of petty discipline to the minimum. The fact that the boys themselves *are the government* takes away all the attractiveness of lawlessness and makes it unpopular. . . . The only effective punishment is *ostracism* by one's fellows; or, as Professor Scott says, "the disapproval and repression of the group one feels he belongs

to. Nothing else is punishment." Any other punishment may be turned into the glory of martyrdom; this cannot. Real social loss is loss of caste with one's cherished comrades. — Fiske, *Boy Life and Self-Government*, pp. 215, 216.

. . . A case of discipline had arisen, and the teacher said to a certain boy, "Well, there is no doubt that I shall have to punish you." The boy replied in the presence of the class, "O, yes, punish me; you're always down on me." This touched the teacher, and, being human enough to flare up, he said impulsively: "I'll leave it to the rest if you don't deserve it. More than that, I'll turn my face to the wall, and they can vote without my seeing them, and I'll never ask a boy how he has voted." The vote was reported to the teacher as unanimously in favor of the boy's being punished. At this point the boy broke down completely, and through his tears said, "Well, it must be right, since everybody says so." — Scott, *Social Education*, pp. 96, 97.

At the election of representatives of the Junior class for the oratorical contest at S. the time was short and four tellers were appointed. When we came to count the ballots we found that there were about a third more than there should have been. The tellers had hurried so that one voter could hand in several ballots if he wished. The result was that we had to hold another election.

The two examples which follow show how the "consent of the governed" is enlisted in keeping order in schools where the coercive method had formerly prevailed. The third exhibits the application of the same method to persons who are not members of the school.

The discipline of the school had been a troublesome feature, especially the year before me. The boys had always been governed by force and seemed desirous that I should use the same method. This I did not do, excepting one or two cases. I put them on their honor. When there was a disturbance I did not pry into the affair but told the boys that I naturally expected they would be "on the square" and if they were at all guilty they would come and see me about it. At first this was not very successful, but after a time they learned that I was a friend instead of an enemy. Later in the year the boys considered how I'd feel about it before pulling off any stunt. I could, and often did, leave the room in examination time and not have a single bit of cheating going on. One time two boys cheated, and they were made to feel ashamed

of themselves so that they confessed to me without my ever saying anything to them.

When I was eight years old I attended a parochial school taught by Sisters of Charity. The teacher had had a great deal of trouble in discipline. One day she said, "I am going to try a new plan. I am going to put you on your honor for to-day. Do just as you think best in everything. I shall not watch you." We thought this very strange — something we could not understand. At first we felt free and for the first five minutes chaos reigned. But the Sister did not say a word — she sat and read a book. Then slowly we began to realize what her words meant. Everyone by common consent settled down to work. The order during that day was perfect.

Mischievous small boys were a "campus pest" at the university. . . . They were especially bothersome on the athletic field until Carl May, its director, conceived the idea of bargaining with them. He promised that if they would live up to certain rules the university would allow them to come into the games free and provide them with equipment to use when the varsity men were not on the field. The organization of the "gang" of fifty boys into a "junior university" was the result. The boys fell into line with a rush, elected officers including a judge, chief of police and four "cops," and a yell leader, and were given regular hours for gymnasium classes and for practice on the field. But when not wanted, the members of the new organization strictly observed the rules and kept away.

Several football players teach the urchins the points of the game in these practice hours and the director of the gymnasium gives one night each week to drill, after which the business meeting of the club is held, followed by a lunch. The four special boy policemen are "on the job" during games keeping "outlaw kids" from jumping the fence. Formerly the boys called the players insulting names. Now they yell themselves hoarse for the men of the team. Before the big games, small armies of "stone pickers" from the club systematically clear all rocks from the field, and after the games hunt for lost articles under the bleachers. At one game, the boys turned in season tickets, endorsed checks amounting to $41, and other things of value. One of the local sporting goods houses has come to the aid of the university authorities by furnishing buttons for the members of the junior university. — *The Survey*, Vol. 31, p. 778.

The important thing in self-government is the spirit of the school, the attitude of teachers and pupils toward each other.

But mechanisms count for something. A good mechanism is one which enables the public opinion of the many, timid though they may be individually in the presence of disorder, to pass over into effective public will.

Every morning in the Second Primary of this school there is a pennant pinned on the blackboard in front of each class as they are seated in the main room. Whenever any one of the children is disorderly in the main room, in passing to or from classes, or is reported by a practice teacher during the recitation period, he causes the pennant to be taken down from in front of his class. The class maintaining the best order during the day leads the room of children to the gymnasium. This is considered a great honor by all. The one who causes the class to lose the pennant is generally reproved by the other members. The critic teacher often leaves the class alone for a few minutes with one of the children in charge to act as teacher until she returns.

Every Friday the teacher in the sixth grade appointed some child to be "housekeeper" for the following week. This officer's duty was to see that all the other officials performed their duties. It was also his duty to keep the magazine stands in order, the bookcases as well, to water the plants and ring the bell at the beginning of the sessions. He could appoint others to help him in his work. Then on the discipline side there were tribunes from each class. Some child was chosen by each class to be the tribune for the following week. His duty was to keep order and this he did by reporting all disorder during study periods and recitations. There were no practice teachers to observe the study periods as there are now, and I know we did just as much work. If a child was reported for a misconduct he stayed after school. In due time each child had his turn being tribune. Then he realized how much trouble a disorderly child could cause. I remember distinctly one boy who was unusually mischievous. It was several weeks before he became tribune, but after that he became one of the best helpers in the class instead of a hindrance.

At the head of our system there is a president, whose duty it is to appoint an efficient corps of reporters, and tabulate the records of these reporters. Moreover, he presides over a council of representatives from all the classes. The duties of this council are to assist the president and sentence offenders.

The reporters appointed by the president have charge of the study rooms and library. It is their duty, not to keep order, but to report

disorder. Each reporter keeps a daily itemized record of the most serious disturbances during his period — all such reports to be handed to the president for tabulation at the end of the week. If at any time better order is desired, the president may upon his own initiative, or at the request of the council, or at the written request of three or more students in any study room, call a meeting of the students in that room, and refer to them the question as to whether or not better order is desired. If the result is an affirmative vote, the council shall examine the records of the reporters of that room and try the persons found to be the most frequent offenders.

Conclusion

Democracy is a new thing in the world; well-developed forms of it have been in practice less than a century. We are still learning what it is and how to operate it. New features are continually being offered and put on trial; no doubt there is a great deal more to be learned about it. We would best handle it as learners, in the humble spirit of one who seeks to know the truth. There are weaknesses in democracy: it is best to recognize them and cope with them in rational ways. One thing which we in this country need to learn is to get over the old Jacksonian notion that any man can fill any public office. We must learn to respect expert knowledge; to employ it where necessary, and to depend on it. We must learn to submit to discipline, inspection, surveying, and whatever else is necessary to enable a complicated social organization to do its work efficiently. The frontier democracy with which America has grown up is now for the most part a thing of the past. Perhaps, as Jane Addams says, "the cure for the ills of Democracy is more Democracy," [1] but we must realize that the democracy of the future must face very different conditions from those of the past.

Anciently, individual freedom was the pearl of our social and political diadem . . . excess of freedom, elevated almost to the plane of a national religion in our country, has led through degeneration to an ingrained and inbred complexus of qualities in the American boy which

[1] Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, pp. 11, 12.

threatens the very roots of our national efficiency. These qualities are disrespect of parents, disrespect of authority, and studied detachment from all traditional and historical institutions. . . .

The American boy is the flower and quintessence of the anarchic social conditions that his Anglo-Saxon forerunners idealized. — *School and Home Education*, Vol. 33, pp. 318, 319, T. J. McCormack, "Germany, The Modern Educational Shulamite," published May, 1914.

. . . I have myself, during the last twenty-five years, sat through perhaps three thousand meetings of municipal committees of different sizes and for different purposes, and I am sure that at least half of the men and women with whom I have sat were entirely unaware that any conscious mental effort on their part was called for. They attended in almost exactly the same mental attitude in which some of them went to church — with a vague sense, that is to say, that they were doing their duty and that good must come of it. If they became interested in the business it was an accident. Of the remaining half, perhaps two-thirds had come with one or two points which they wanted to "get through," and meanwhile let the rest of the business drift past them, unless some phrase in the discussion roused them to a more or less irrelevant interruption. — Wallas, *The Great Society*, p. 276.

. . . It is probably quite as necessary for the citizens of a democratic state to regard political power as a public trust, to be exercised for the benefit of others, as it is for a monarch or an aristocrat. The acceptance of this responsibility and trusteeship goes with the successful exercise of every kind of freedom — moral, social, or civil. . . . — Hadley, *Freedom and Responsibility*, p. 4.

. . . Fisher Ames expressed the popular security more wisely, when he compared a monarchy and a republic, saying, that a monarchy is a merchantman, which sails well, but will sometimes strike on rock, and go to the bottom; whilst a republic is a raft, which would never sink, but then your feet are always in water. . . . — Emerson's *Essays*, Second Series, "Politics."

. . . We are, however, on the raft for good and all. We must make the best of it; whatever defections may occur, it is unmanly for Americans to be faint-hearted. . . . — Hosmer, *Life of Thomas Hutchinson*, p. xvii.

. . . We do well to fear too glib interpreters of Russian developments, . . . Yet we believe that one moderate inference may safely be drawn from the Russian imbroglio. It is that there is nothing magical about

democratic institutions. They do not make it possible for nations to be carried to the skies on flowery beds of ease. They do not work automatically. The necessity of constant and arduous labor is not removed by them. . . .

In a very true sense, autocracy is the "easier" way to rule. It is true in the sense of Cavour's saying, "Anybody can govern under martial law." By it you have swift and resolute decisions, with no questions asked or even allowed. . . .

. . . Ease is not the prime requisite of government. . . . Not for nothing is the democrat sometimes pictured as a man with his sleeves rolled up. He must be ready to pitch in. He has to fight for this cause and attack that movement; to guard here against a danger and there to welcome assistance; to be prepared to talk and argue and attend meetings and sign petitions and vote, year in and year out. . . .

Democracy is noisy, whereas autocracy may go stealthily. Autocratic governments do their work behind closed doors and barred windows; democratic officials have to come out into the open and be clapped on the back by their fellow-citizens. . . . And we must consider, also, the immense effort required to secure political reforms in a democratic country; the outcry, the agitation, the repeated failures before the desired haven is reached. And when it is reached, what then? Only new proposals, fresh excitements, added appeals to the people. . . . But does the true democrat mind this? Not if he remembers that energy is better than stagnation, . . . even an imperfect self-government is better than a seemingly more efficient one imposed from above or without. Let us make no pretence, to Russians or to ourselves, that democracy is the easy way. It is the *hard* way, comparatively speaking; but it is the hardness that evokes the exertion of the sinewy mind of freedom, and makes those who know what liberty means rejoice as a strong man to run a race. — *The Evening Post*, N. Y., September 15, 1917, editorial, "Democracy not Easy."

Topics

1. Can popular government rise higher than the intelligence of the average voter? Illustrate by some action of a literary society or other organization of which you have been a member.
2. Describe some system of organized self-government in school.
3. Should there be some kind of organized self-government in a high school? In any other kind of school? Formulate a plan for this school.
4. The idea of the following passage is elaborated in the context, which should be read if possible. Is it true? Interview persons who have traveled in foreign countries or are versed in history:

We perceive that there is less and less social tolerance in a free State where there is great political activity in the mass of the population, and that with the increase of real political liberty, forbearance towards the individual ego is bound to dwindle. There was an infinitely greater originality of mind in the eighteenth century, under an absolutist form of government, than there is to-day. — Treitschke, *Politics*, Vol. I, pp. 178, 179.

5. Elaborate the thought expressed in these passages. The entire article is difficult reading but should be reported on, if possible, by some one who is well grounded in history:

The duplicity of democracy! The phrase can refer only to the fact, which appears to me very like a law, that in any time of democracy of any sort or degree there must be two different and more or less distinct levels of life and interest. These two levels . . . are always in conflict . . . with each other. . . . As for duplicity, I am using this term because democracy seems to me to have been quite in the habit of concealing or, if not deliberately concealing, then not always fully and openly facing and appreciating its own real design, its interest in something besides equality, its service of aristocracy of a new sort, on the higher level.

. . . Democratic leveling under the earlier type, natural only when the possibilities have been practically exhausted, *must be a condition of rise to the later*. In other words, as all that has been said here so far has constantly implied, democracy must mark at once the closing stage of an aristocracy of some lower order, *this being an object of its legitimate attack*, and the inception of an aristocracy of some higher order, *this being the proper object of its ideal endeavor*. . . .

. . . Since every democracy by providing a certain equality of opportunity mediates some new aristocracy or since every aristocracy presupposes some democracy, then democracy must be more than just a name for some particular form of government or some particular era; it becomes a name for something that, so to speak, by night when not by day, is present and active in all governments and all eras. Democracy is one of the two ever-present motives of all history; aristocracy being the other.

Democracy is no golden age; but the gold of all ages, which some new aristocracy is ever ready to spend and, spending, to enjoy. — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 21, pp. 8, 9, 11, 14, A. H. Lloyd.

Problems

1. Test the truth of the following statement by your experience with self-governing groups:

. . . Democracy does not respect efficiency, but it soon will have no opportunity to respect it; for efficiency is being destroyed and before

long will have disappeared altogether. There will soon be no difference between the judge and the suitor, between the layman and the priest, the sick man and the physician. The contempt which is felt for efficiency destroys it little by little. . . . — Faguet, *The Cult of Incompetence*, pp. 170, 171, published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

2. Does any group of teachers enjoy their business meetings? Would they like to have more of the management of the school in their own hands, or do they prefer that the superintendent or president do the managing?

3. How much equality must there be among the members of a group in order to make democracy the natural form of government?

4. Debate this proposition:

Select some organization which represents the entire student body, or all the members of some class or department, which is democratically governed, *i.e.* is controlled by the entire membership, and carries on some important work such as athletics or publishing a school annual, with the financial responsibility incident thereto. Consider the proposition of broadening the scope of this organization so that it will cover all the activities of its members which involve a joint expense or the cooperative use of capital. It would furnish them with room and board, either in one establishment or in several operated under one management. It would arrange for the laundry work of all. It would sell the clothes, books, and other supplies. It would arrange for all the lectures, concerts, entertainments, and religious services. If any of the members wish to earn money the organization must either give them employment or else find it for them outside and receive the proceeds. The provision in any of these services need not be identical for all, but it must be controlled by the one organization so that there will be no competition.

References

Adams, *The Power of Ideals in American History*, pp. 127–151.

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 20, pp. 433–486, 613–628, a symposium, "What is Americanism?" Vol. 21, pp. 1–14, A. H. Lloyd, "The Duplicity of Democracy"; Vol. 23, pp. 763–778, Grabo, "Education for Democratic Leadership"; Vol. 24, pp. 704–714, Gillin, "The Origin of Democracy."

Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, pp. 171–185, 200–204.

Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 379–387, socialism.

Bradford, *The Lesson of Popular Government*, pp. 1–56.

Conklin, *Heredity and Environment*, pp. 464–471.

** Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 107–205.

Cooley, *Social Process*, pp. 80–87, 148, 149, 364–370.

Cram, *The Nemesis of Mediocrity.*

Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, pp. 94–118.

Dole, *The Spirit of Democracy*, pp. 62–102.

Educational Review, Vol. 50, pp. 225–245, three articles on education for democracy.

Eliot, *American Contributions to Civilization*, pp. 21–35, 161–169, 203–233.

Ellis, *The Task of Social Hygiene*, pp. 381–405, socialism.

Faguet, *The Cult of Incompetence*, especially pp. 82–91, 172–215. A severe criticism of democracy.

Fite, *Individualism*, pp. 274–291.

Foerster and Pierson, *American Ideals.*

Godkin, *Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy*, pp. 1–47. Friendly criticism.

Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, pp. 3–10, "Race and Democracy."

Griggs, *The Soul of Democracy.*

Hadley, *Freedom and Responsibility*, especially pp. 73–101, 126–149. One of a series of volumes by distinguished publicists under the general title, Yale Lectures on the Responsibilities of Citizenship, all with some bearing on democracy.

Harris, *Inequality and Progress*, pp. 40–68.

Hayes, *British Social Politics*, pp. 421–505, curbing the Lords.

Hobhouse, *Democracy and Reaction*, pp. 167–187, limitations of democracy; pp. 209–244, socialism.

Hollister, *Administration of Education in a Democracy*, pp. 221–259.

International Journal of Ethics, Vol. 28, pp. 499–514, Ellwood, "Democracy and Social Conditions in the United States."

Jastrow, *Character and Temperament*, pp. 486–489.

Lecky, *Democracy and Liberty*, Vol. I, pp. 21–35, 256–261, 379–398. Review by Giddings in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 11, pp. 716–731.

Lowell, *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, pp. 3–54.

Popular Science Monthly, Vols. 83–85, C. F. Emerick, a series of articles on "The Struggle for Equality." Vol. 85, pp. 56–67, conclusion.

Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, especially for years 1917, 1918, "Democracy."

* Ross, *Changing America*, pp. 20–31, 163–186.

School and Society, Vol. 3, pp. 247–249, 594–600, faculty participation in college government; pp. 807–816, Bagley, "Some Handicaps to Education in a Democracy."

Spargo, *Americanism and Social Democracy.* By a prominent American socialist.

Sumner, *What the Social Classes Owe Each Other*, pp. 28–42.

Tolstoi, *War and Peace*, Part IX, Chap. XI. Describes a council of war in the Russian Army in 1912; a good example of government without a leader.

Tufts, *Our Democracy: Its Origin and Tasks.*

Ward, *Applied Sociology*, pp. 21–23, 95–110.

Weyl, *The New Democracy*, pp. 209–234, 348–357.

DEMOCRACY IN SCHOOLS AND AMONG CHILDREN

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 3, pp. 281–296, 433–448, Commons on the George Junior Republic. See Poole's *Index* and *The Reader's Guide* for the periodical literature relating to this most interesting example of democracy among children. Vol. 24, pp. 681–691, Lull, "Socializing School Procedure."

Cronson, *Pupil Self-Government*, describes a scheme in use in New York City.

Dewey, *Schools of Tomorrow*, pp. 287–316.

Fiske, *Boy Life and Self-Government*, especially pp. 107–149, 205–219.

Judd, *The Evolution of a Democratic School System*, pp. 1–36, on the undemocratic system of Prussia.

King, *Education for Social Efficiency*, pp. 158–176, 246–261.

King, *Social Aspects of Education*, pp. 291–309. Bibliography.

Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education*, "Prefect and the Prefectural System"; "Self-Government in Schools."

National Education Association, *Proceedings*, 1908, pp. 285–294, two papers and discussion.

Outlook, Vol. 110, pp. 706–708, "The Boy Police of New York."

Powell, *The Spirit of Democracy.* A volume of selections for declamation.

School Citizen's Committee, No. 2 Wall St., New York City, will send literature to anyone desiring it.

Survey, Vol. 33, p. 83, a boy's court in Cleveland.

U. S. Commissioner of Education, *Report*, 1915, pp. 109–113.

U. S. Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, 1915, No. 8, "Present Status of the Honor System in Colleges and Universities."

PART III

SOCIAL PROGRESS

CHAPTERS XI–XV

THE method of the foregoing chapters has been analytical: the aim has been to pick society to pieces and see of what elements it is composed. In Part I we analyzed the factors which go to make up society. In Part II, we have seen how these factors are interwoven to make organized community life, always in accordance with principles which vary in application as the factors vary. So far we have been studying, as it were, a cross section of society; the work might be called "Social Statics," which was the title of the first book on sociology written by Herbert Spencer. But just as anatomy and histology are preparatory to physiology, botany, zoölogy, psychology, and all the other studies of living things, so this microscopic dissection of society which we have been through is a preparation for the view of society as a working whole that grows by adapting itself to ever new conditions. This Part III might, therefore, be called "Social Dynamics." In the earlier part we have studied movement, it is true, but it has been movement that does not progress; our eyes have been fixed on processes, but they have been processes that repeat themselves without variation. We are now to study movements and processes which carry us to new levels. If Part II be likened to the study of a cross section, Part III should be likened to the longitudinal tracing of a fiber from beginning to end.

Part III takes the work into some new literature as well as new subjects. An adequate acquaintance with these can hardly come with the reading of short references: an hour's reading may not be enough to give an appreciation of

what it is all about. Some members of the class would do well to select certain topics or authors and study them as intensively as possible while going through these chapters. The following list is suggestive merely. For more specific references, see the list at the end of each chapter.

Topics

Elaboration of the chart on page 283.
Early man in America: bibliography.
Quaternary geology, with special reference to the glacial epoch.
Eugenics: compile annotated bibliography.
The theories of recapitulation and the culture epochs.
What is progress?
Struggle as the method of progress.
Education as the method of progress.

Authors

Bagehot, *Physics and Politics.*
Bogardus, *Introduction to Sociology.*
Chapin, *Social Evolution.*
Conn, *Social Heredity and Social Evolution.*
Cooley, *Social Process.*
Darwin's life, writings, and influence.
Dopp, Katharine E., *Industrial and Social History Series.*
Ellwood, *The Social Problem.*
Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race.*
Humphrey, *Mankind.*
Huntington, writings.
Huxley, *Life and Letters.*
Keller, *Societal Evolution.*
Marvin, *The Living Past.*
Nasmyth, *Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory.*
Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age.*
Ripley, *The Races of Europe.*
Shaler, *Man and the Earth.*
Small, *General Sociology*, pp. 183–384.
Spencer, *Autobiography.*
Todd, *Theories of Social Progress.*
Wallas, *The Great Society.*
Wissler, *The American Indian.*

CHAPTER XI

THE HUMAN EPISODE: MAN'S CAREER ON THE EARTH

. . . The sense of time must come to include a long past and a limitless future, and the sense of terrestrial space to extend beyond the confines of community or nation. Nor are these to be conceived as empty duration and mere physical distance, but as filled with human generations, each a link in the great chain of life that began at the beginning and will go on till the end. And with this concept must rise the feeling of kinship, the sense of relationship, with all that have come before and that will come after. — Betts, *Social Principles of Education*, p. 235.

The Present is ever a mystery to us until it is irradiated by some knowledge of the Past. The glittering symbols we see around us — Church, School, Court, and Camp — seem to the unlettered, as they do to children, to be fixed and rooted in eternity, and to be as much a part of the economy of Nature as the sun, moon, and stars. But a glance along the perspective of history shows us that these, too, like the fleeting years, are evanescent and transitory; that Time changes, and will continue to change, their configuration and character; and that, as they sprang originally from the opinions, sentiments and necessities of men, so they will fade and disappear with them. — Crozier, *Civilization and Progress*, 4th ed., p. 19.

WHAT is progress? We cannot say until we discern whither we are going. We must know what our goal is. Are we moving? If so, let us take a backward look and see whence we have come. It may help us to define our goal and say what progress is if we locate our present position in the time which has been covered, and is to be covered, by the career of mankind on the earth.

The world of human society is changing. One generation replaces another but it does not live the same kind of life as the other. We may have no doubt about that, but it

may nevertheless be worth while to glance over the past in order to get a realization of how far we have traveled, and then to glance ahead at the road which lies before in order to see how far we may still have to go.

The Backward Look

Historical Time

Persons whose recollection goes back only to the Spanish-American War have some of this realization from their own experience. In that short space of time the factor of communication has become different through the coming of the automobile, moving pictures, and wireless telegraphy. The content of the social mind has changed; fads and fashions have come and gone. Some institutions have gone out of existence and new ones have come in their stead. Education has changed. When the *Maine* went to the bottom of Havana harbor a school that had manual training was a rarity, industrial education was a curiosity, and vocational guidance had not been heard of. If we go into a library and look over the successive issues of some yearbook for the last ten years, or the bound volumes of some periodical, we begin to think that everything has changed. Even the English constitution has changed. A good way to realize the rate at which things are changing is to try to find some institution which has not changed.[1]

[1] The foregoing paragraph was written in the spring of 1914. Now, June, 1919, we look back on stupendous changes within the interval of time that has elapsed: the Hapsburgs, Romanoffs, and Hohenzollerns dethroned and their empires dismembered; millions of soldiers transported from the United States to European soil; railroads, shipping, and wires brought under government operation over a large part of the world, and the distribution of food brought under government control, making even socialists open their eyes with wonder. Even the changes that were only temporary war measures have left enduring results. Events before 1914 already seem to belong to to some *ancien régime*, while 1919 is generally expected to be the beginning of an epoch of constructive achievement that will surpass anything the world has ever seen before.

The aged persons among us tell of a time when slavery existed in half of the states; when there were few factories; when cities were few and small; when kerosene and electric lights and telephones were unknown; when clothes were practically all made either in the home or to order by neighbors; when the average family got a large part of its food from its own garden, fowls, and cow.

If we go back two hundred years, we get into another world. There were no railroads, no steam engines, and scarcely any machinery. Spinning and weaving were done by hand. Houses were heated by fireplaces, if at all. Newspapers and books cost so much that few people had them. The mass of the people could not read and write, and had no voice in government. Three hundred years farther back there were no eyeglasses or other optical instruments; there was no printing; firearms were just coming into use. Natural science, which contributes so much to-day to our understanding and use of the world in which we live, virtually did not exist. Even the few people of wealth knew little of their own past or of what was going on in the social world outside of their own county. The clergy of western Europe, organized into a sort of international monarchy, had almost a monopoly of such learning as there was. Feudalism was breaking up in England, but it prevailed elsewhere in western Europe. Two thousand years ago there was a fringe of civilization around the Mediterranean Sea. Even here, however, literary education was possible for only a small ruling caste who lived on the labor of slaves or by the organized plunder carried on by the Roman government. Nowhere was there as much thought for the health and comfort of the mass of people as is common to-day for horses and cattle.

Eight thousand years take us back of civilization itself. There was no alphabet, no method of making complicated computations or accurate records. Consequently only crude organization of society was possible. Along the Nile valley

there may have been industrial and political organization enough to support small towns. Civilization began there, in the first place, because the climate permits human existence the year round without elaborate shelter or clothing; secondly, because there is a fertile soil which does not become exhausted under cultivation; thirdly, — and this distinguishes it from other tropical river valleys, — because deserts and seas protect this favored region from barbarian invaders, thus giving the agriculturists time to develop the arts of peace, such as measuring and keeping records. With the coming of written language to preserve knowledge of names and dates, history begins.

Archæological Time

. . . The sudden appearance in Europe at least 25,000 years ago of a human race with a high order of brain power and ability was not a leap forward but the effect of a long process of evolution elsewhere. When the prehistoric archæology of eastern Europe and of Asia has been investigated we may obtain some light on this antecedent development. — Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age*, p. 501.

. . . There *is* no beginning; we know nothing about beginnings; there is always continuity with the past, and not with any one element only of the past, but with the whole interacting organism of man. — Cooley, *Social Process*, p. 46.

Back of historical time comes archæological time. There are many durable, but non-verbal, sources of information regarding prehistoric man: tombs, human bones, and the bones of animals used as food, implements of copper or bone or stone, drawings and carvings on the walls of caves, and heaps of refuse left by the eaters of shell-fish. Since primitive man did not bother about house-cleaning or street-cleaning, his remains are found in strata which, of course, show in what order the various stages succeeded one another; the archæologists may by digging through these strata work out the successive epochs of prehistoric culture in any given region.

At the dawn of civilization the most advanced peoples used copper. It exists in nature nearly chemically pure; it melts at a much lower temperature than iron, and can be easily hammered into any desired shape. Alloyed with tin — and it is sometimes so found in nature — it becomes hard enough to hold a cutting edge. This is why the history of the great peoples begins — in the archæological terminology which Sir John Lubbock adopted half a century ago — with the Bronze Age. Of course, implements of other materials were used as well — leather, wood, bone, — but these would sooner decay and leave the copper or bronze implements for the archæologists to find.

Back of the Bronze Age comes the Stone Age. Before man learned to use the metals, his durable tools were made of stone. The Stone Age is divided into several parts. First in order as we travel backwards comes the Neolithic, in which the stone implements were brought into their final shape by grinding. Back of that, and lasting much longer, comes the Palæolithic, or Old Stone Age, in which the stones were shaped by chipping.

Objection has been made to regarding these archæological stages as periods of time:

> It is true that in Western Europe the Stone Age ended many hundreds of years ago; but in the Pacific Islands the Stone Age was in progress when white men first reached there; in North America the Stone Age continued among the Indians until the last century; in South America there are, no doubt, many tribes who still live in their Age of Stone. The term, then, should be used to designate a stage of culture, not a period of time. — Starr, *Some First Steps in Human Progress*, p. 96.

But we are naturally most interested in the foremost people, and the foremost culture soon diffuses itself over the habitable portion of a continent. Whenever, therefore, these archæological terms are used to designate periods of time, without limitation of any kind, they refer to the periods in which the most advanced peoples were in the stages mentioned. They are

also limited geographically, for the most part and in the present state of our knowledge, to southern and western Europe. The only considerable extension into Africa is the one up the Nile valley already mentioned. There is another in Asia to the Tigris-Euphrates valley. There are great possibilities farther to the east, in Trans-Caucasia, Thibet, the Tarim Basin, India, China, and the East Indies, but the research there has been limited. The great drift of population, in archæological time as in historical, seems to have been westward, so that each successive stage of culture reached its highest development in western Europe.

Palæolithic time is subdivided into the later or upper, of perhaps fifty thousand years, and the earlier or lower, of several times as long. The difference between these two stages of culture is in the way the chipping was done and the extent to which the implements were varied in shape to suit different purposes. The earliest division of the Stone Age is the Eolithic, longer probably than all the succeeding portions. The Eolithic implements were so crudely shaped as sometimes to leave doubt whether they are the work of man.

Another way of distinguishing these early stages of human development is by the kind of dwellings. There were the Lake-dwellers, who in Neolithic times built their houses on piles along the borders of the lakes in Switzerland and elsewhere. There were the later Cave-men and the early Cave-men, both in Palæolithic time. Back of them were the Tree-dwellers in the Eolithic stage of culture.

Another series of names for the stages of culture is based on the names of the places in France and Spain and other regions where the typical remains were found. These local types for western Europe have now been so clearly characterized and related to one another that the series is comparable for continuity with, say, medieval history.

Archæology and Geology

Just as archæological time overlaps earlier historical time, but precedes it for the most part, so also geological time overlaps and precedes archæological. The human remains so far found prove man's existence back through the Quaternary or Pleistocene Period, and probably into the Pliocene of the Tertiary. This places man's origin in the age of the giant mammals — the mastodon, the saber-tooth tiger, and the cave bear. The conflict with these must have been one of the problems of the earliest human society.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL TIME IN EUROPE

GEOLOGICAL TIME	RACES	AGES	TYPES OF CULTURE NAMED FROM LOCATIONS
QUATERNARY			
Recent Alluvial	Baltic	Iron	Hallstatt
10,000 years	Mediterranean		
	Alpine	Bronze	Mycenæan
		Neolithic	Danish Kitchen-middens
			Swiss Lake-dwellers
Pleistocene		Palæolithic,	Azilian-Tardenoisian
Postglacial	Crô-Magnon	Upper	Magdalenian
25,000 years			Solutrean
	Grimaldi		Aurignacian
Glacial Stages			
IV. 25,000 years	Neanderthal	Palæolithic,	Mousterian
3d Interglacial,		Lower	Acheulian
100,000 years	Piltdown		Chellean
III. 25,000 years			Pre-Chellean
2d Interglacial,	Heidelberg		
200,000 years			
II. 25,000 years			
1st Interglacial,		Eolithic (?)	
75,000 years			
I. 25,000 years	Trinil (?)		
	found in Java		
TERTIARY			
Pliocene			

— Adapted from Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age.*

The accompanying chart gives a conspectus of man's prehistoric career. To the reader who has never looked into

this subject before, the array of strange names may seem formidable, especially those in the last column, although each one of them stands for a body of knowledge which is perfectly definite and established beyond question. A little study will make this chart fairly radiant with meaning. The figures for the years in the first column are the most uncertain feature, for they are only approximations at the best. Some geologists would allow only ten thousand years for the Postglacial and the Recent Alluvial together. But the succession of the various geological stages and their characteristics are settled beyond doubt.

Since, therefore, the length of man's past career on the earth must be measured in geological time, we should notice what geological time means. There are various ways of measuring it. The most definite one is based on the rate at which Niagara Falls wears back the gorge which it has formed. This cataract came into existence at the close of the glacial epoch when the ice cap had retreated sufficiently to allow the waters of Lake Erie to discharge into Lake Ontario. The gorge is now seven miles long and grows about four feet a year. This rate of growth must have been less rapid formerly, because the waters of the upper lakes formerly discharged elsewhere — into the Mississippi by the Chicago and Illinois rivers, or into the St. Lawrence by Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa River. European geologists estimate from the rate at which the glaciers of the Alps are observed to form moraines. Geologists place the beginning of the Quaternary at from five hundred thousand to a million years ago, and they make the Tertiary at least three times as long as that. It is likely, therefore, that man has been on the earth for a million years; it can hardly be less than five hundred thousand, and may be much more than a million. Back of man's origin, geological time stretches away through a hundred million years more or less, during which lower forms of life were maturing and the earth was getting into the condition to make human exist-

ence possible. If we wish to let our thoughts run back of geological time, there is astronomical time, in which years become meaningless and there is no ascertainable beginning.

None of the bones which have been found show that the stature of man was ever much different from what it is now, the range of normal variation being from four to six and a half feet, but they do show a great difference in the shape of the head. The Neanderthal race had a receding chin, a receding forehead, and a brain one fifth smaller than the European of to-day. But information about this race and its still more primitive predecessors becomes more meager the farther back we go. Of peculiar interest is the Crô-Magnon race which inhabited western Europe at the beginning of the Postglacial period. This race produced the wonderful paintings and carvings on the walls of caves in France and Spain, although industrially it seems never to have advanced beyond the middle or upper stage of savagery, for there is no evidence that it made pottery, or cultivated the soil, or had domestic animals, or used the bow and arrow. The descendants of this race are still found in Dordogne in southern France. They are marked by a broad face with prominent cheek bones, and by a dolichocephalic or narrow cranium. The Crô-Magnons, according to Osborn, came from Asia, like all of the other races which have prevailed in Europe.

Stages of Culture

The first chapter of *Ancient Society*, by Lewis H. Morgan, makes an arrangement of the successive periods of human development from the beginning up to the dawn of history. This arrangement has found so much favor that it is worth repeating, though the book was published in 1877; it is a general arrangement, applicable to all regions, and therefore serves better than any other to illustrate the point aimed at here, namely, that man has advanced to his present condition by innumerable steps, some of them as revolutionary as any

that we have seen in recent years. Morgan divided uncivilized peoples into two classes, the barbarous and the savage; in each of these again he recognized three stages of development, which he called, respectively, the upper, middle, and lower.

The Upper Status of Barbarism commenced with the manufacture of iron, and ended with the invention of a phonetic alphabet, and the use of writing in literary composition. It included, for example, the Grecian tribes of the Homeric age, the Italian tribes shortly before the founding of Rome, and the Germanic tribes of the time of Cæsar.

The Middle Status of Barbarism commenced with the domestication of animals in the Eastern Hemisphere, and in the Western with cultivation by irrigation and with the use of adobe-brick and stone in architecture. Its termination may be fixed with the invention of the process of smelting iron ore. This places in the Middle Status, for example, the Village Indians of New Mexico, Mexico, Central America, and Peru, and such tribes in the Eastern hemisphere as possessed domestic animals, but were without a knowledge of iron.

The Lower Status of Barbarism commenced with the manufacture of pottery. It includes the Indian tribes of the United States east of the Missouri River. The invention or practice of the art of pottery, all things considered, is probably the most effective and conclusive test that can be selected to fix a boundary line, necessarily arbitrary, between savagery and barbarism.

The Upper Status of Savagery commenced with the invention of the bow and arrow, and ended with the invention of the art of pottery. It leaves in the Upper Status of Savagery the Athapascan tribes of the Hudson's Bay Territory, the tribes of the valley of the Columbia, and certain coast tribes of North and South America; but with relation to the time of their discovery.

The Middle Status of Savagery commenced with the acquisition of a fish subsistence and a knowledge of the use of fire, and ended with the invention of the bow and arrow. Mankind, while in this condition, spread from their original habitat over the greater portion of the earth's surface. Among tribes still existing it will leave in the Middle Status of Savagery, for example, the Australians and the greater part of the Polynesians when discovered.

The Lower Status of Savagery commenced with the infancy of the human race. Mankind were then living in their original restricted habitat, and subsisting upon fruits and nuts. The commencement of articu-

late speech belongs to this period. No exemplification of tribes of mankind in this condition remains to the historical period.

A succession of inventions of greater need and adapted to a lower condition must have occurred before the want of pottery would be felt. The commencement of village life, with some degree of control over subsistence, wooden vessels and utensils, finger weaving with filaments of bark, basket making, and the bow and arrow make their appearance before the art of pottery. While flint and stone implements — which came earlier and required long periods of time to develop all their uses — gave the canoe, wooden vessels and utensils, and ultimately timber and plank in house architecture, pottery gave a durable vessel for boiling food, which before had been rudely accomplished in baskets coated with clay, and in ground cavities lined with skin, the boiling being effected with heated stones. — Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 10–15, rearranged and condensed.

Why Look Backward?

What is the value of this backward look? First of all, in the minds of some, is the respect it engenders for the culture we have. Our institutions, the content of the social mind of to-day, and human nature itself, have come down to us out of a stupendous past. Into their production has gone the effort of myriads of our forebears, and oftentimes life itself. History gives us the names of many of these and tells us what they contributed. We should know that there were many other benefactors equally great, but unchronicled. Fulton gave us the steamboat, Jefferson gave us the Declaration of Independence, Pasteur discovered important features of the modern treatment of disease, Newton founded the science of physics, Justinian formulated the greatest code of law. For our standards in history we are indebted to Thucydides; in sculpture to Phidias. But who first learned how to kindle a fire? How to boil food? To make pottery? To smelt iron? Who made the first boat? Who invented the alphabet? Who put the first plow into the soil? Who made monogamous marriage the approved relation between the sexes? Who first conceived the idea of one God and one law

in nature? We may never have the names to give in answer to these questions, but we can learn much about the circumstances under which these great forward steps were made. We place a higher value on our social heritage when we know something about the creators of it, even though their names remain unknown to us. We understand better the nature of such an institution as the church, the family, the state, the mercantile establishment, when we know the circumstances which surrounded its origin. Since we have formed the habit of judging the past by the good it has given us, we are more ready to devote ourselves to the welfare of future generations.

These values in the study of history have long been known, but only recently have teachers discovered that values of the same kind may be found in archæology and anthropology which uncover for us the more remote past. A few books suitable for use in the elementary school are now available. Here is a practice teacher's account of the use of two of them, followed by their author's own statement of the advantages they offer.

I used Miss Dopp's books down stairs in one of my practice classes. The children had read *The Tree-Dwellers* before and were greatly interested. The day before Thanksgiving we read the chapter entitled "The Thanksgiving Feast." They were very anxious to discuss the differences and likenesses between that celebration and ours.

We also read how the cave-women made baskets from splints and how the baskets were decorated. The children had done work of this kind before, so the preparation for the lesson was easy and interesting. They drew patterns on the board to be used in weaving. In another class they did actual weaving.

. . . Anthropology presents to the child a simple society. Its social forces are clear and well defined. Motives are evident. Processes are simple and fairly direct. Technique is simple, and its relation to the process is evident. The child is thus able to perceive the need, and, the need once realized, the child is alert in inventing ways of meeting it. — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 8, p. 153, Katharine E. Dopp.

The Forward Look

So much for the backward look. Let us next turn our gaze forward. Will the earth again become unsuitable for human habitation? Must man's occupation of it have an end as well as a beginning? The astronomers and physicists give an affirmative answer. Man's existence depends on a nice adjustment of temperature, water, and atmospheric elements. The earth may in time lose its atmosphere and moisture, just as the moon did long ago. The sun may cool off and withhold its life-giving warmth. The earth may lose its internal heat. How far off these conditions are is even more uncertain than the length of geological time; it may be several millions of years. Nor is it possible at present to foresee which of the necessary factors for man's existence on the earth will fail first. Meanwhile, glacial epochs will probably come and go; the physical world may be expected to change as much in the next million years as it has in the past. It might seem as if the most important question that can engage man's attention is this one of how long the earth will be suitable for his habitation.

But this question loses most of its practicality and becomes quite academic when we note what a short distance into the future even the most far-reaching plans extend. Tables for computing bond-values run up to one hundred years. Dealers say that they know of no bonds running longer than that, except the perpetual ones. A few leases and franchises have been granted for nine hundred and ninety-nine years. That seems to be about the limit of human foresight.

The rate of interest is a mathematical method of discounting the future, and one which can be carried to any length and to any desired degree of minuteness. High rate reflects short-sightedness and a low valuation of future goods; and conversely, low rate reflects far-sightedness and an estimate of future goods nearer to the value of the corresponding goods in the present. This method is regularly used by financiers to determine the present worth of annuities, bonds, mines, or investments

of any kind which yield definite returns for limited periods; used in a different way it determines the value of investments giving promise of perpetual income, such as waterpowers and other sites for location, agricultural lands, perpetual annuities, and shares of stock in stable companies. How the valuation of distant goods varies inversely as the rate of interest may be shown in tabular form thus:

THE VALUE OF AN INVESTMENT YIELDING $100 ANNUALLY

To Run For—	Rate of Interest Used as a Basis		
	6%	4%	2%
1 year	$ 94.34	$ 96.14	$ 98.04
10 years	736.00	811.08	898.25
100 years	1661.75	2450.50	4309.83
200 years	1666.65	2499.01	4904.74
300 years	1666.66	2499.98	4986.85
Perpetuity	1666.67	2500.00	5000.00

The first three lines of this table were taken from Skinner's *The Mathematical Theory of Investment*.

The distance into the future to which man's calculations extend is thus seen to be brief, indeed, compared even with historical time, and shrinks into insignificance in comparison with archæological time. There would doubtless be longer foresight if there were more fore-knowledge. If it were known, for instance, that the northern ice cap would in a thousand years advance southward to its old limits, say to the present isotherm of 50 degrees F., the statesmen of Europe would be even more eager than they are now to control tropical lands.

As for the social world, it will not only change in response to changes in the physical, but it will also change from its own internal growth, that is, with the development of the social mind. It seems to be changing to-day more rapidly than ever before. Some features of the near future can be quite clearly seen.

Impending Changes

Civilization is replacing barbarism. The peoples that are devoted to the arts of peace are now stronger in war than the peoples that cultivate only the arts of war. The uncivilized are yielding their territory and the control over their own affairs to the more civilized.

Large-scale organization is replacing the old particularism. The integration of larger and larger social units for the various kinds of human activity has now gone on steadily for upwards of a thousand years. There is no reason why it will not continue, and we might as well adjust ourselves to it, educationally and otherwise. This means to pay more attention to what others are doing, to get into step with them, and sometimes to force them to get into step with us; to develop discipline; to permit differences in some matters only for the purpose of experiment or some other recognized advantage besides local or individual habit. The schools must train for coöperative living. The room for the non-conformist, who will not or cannot keep step with his fellows, is becoming narrower.

This tendency must not be lost from sight in the developments which seem to run counter to it, such as liberty, wide opportunity for all, free initiative for individuals or small groups, and other phases of democracy. Although the large institution normally gives more liberty than it takes away, yet it must enforce its rules more rigidly than a small group needs to do. When I study in the large library I suffer less from interruptions than when I study at home, and the opportunities are beyond comparison, but I must obey the rules or else lose my privileges. The anarchist and the "conscientious objector," who break rules just because they are rules, must certainly have a thorny path ahead.

Population is increasing by leaps and bounds. As war is suppressed and disease is brought under control, a larger proportion of the children that are born live to mature years.

The same technical skill that controls disease also controls the resources of nature and increases the production of food and the other necessaries of life. Every part of the earth that has resources for producing anything to satisfy human wants will be both populous and rich. All the skill that the sciences and arts of the future can develop will be employed to wring a subsistence from regions that now seem to be barren. The sciences that teach us how to utilize nature's resources will be more appreciated.

From time to time, *nature's resources will be exhausted.* Two hundred years ago the scarcity of timber in southern England started the movement of population toward the north, with important results, industrial, political, and social. The same will be true of the exhaustion of the natural forests in this country and elsewhere. In another century, perhaps, petroleum and natural gas will be things of the past, their utilization constituting a notable incident in the human career. In some centuries more, coal will be a vanishing resource, but what the world will be without it is impossible for us to conceive, as it was impossible for the people who first began to use it six hundred years ago to conceive what the world would become with it. Needless to say, it will be a very different world. The metals, too, will become scarce sometime. When the supply of gold begins to decrease again, as it did in the Middle Ages, it will tend to make prices lower and to check business enterprise. What will be done when there is no more mining of iron, with only old iron to melt over, we cannot possibly foresee, because we cannot foretell how the arts will change meanwhile. So also of copper, and zinc, and lead, and silver, and platinum. Much will depend upon the order of their exhaustion, and still more, probably, on the substitutes for them which may be discovered or invented in the future.

And then will come that remote time after many of the exhaustible resources shall have been exhausted. And still

it will probably be, after all, only a small part of man's entire career on the earth — ten thousand or a hundred thousand years. There will be many hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of years after that, before the last man on the earth will lie down to die. If we are to judge by the past, that time of decline in material resources will be the flowering of our civilization. The greatest gifts to civilization made by Judæa, and Greece, and Rome, and Florence, were matured after their material greatness began to wane. It does not take much imagination to conceive of a society, without oil wells or mines of any kind, as much superior to ours in America to-day as ours is to that in England under Henry VIII.

Conclusion

When we put together man's possible future and his probable past, so as to form the program of his entire career on the earth, — to get the human episode as a whole before us, — our present falls well back in the earlier portion. Humanity is still young. It is like a boy in his teens who is still growing. who is just discovering his own capacities, who is roaming over the field which has fallen to his lot, tasting the fruits, and putting in his spade here and there; before long he will get control of himself and settle down to the real work of his life which will last several times as long as his chequered past; his future will be incomparably richer than his past and more satisfactory to himself. The present stage of the human episode is like the pioneer stage in the history of a country, — really like it, and not merely figuratively. The exploration of the world is still going on. The tapping of its resources by the aid of modern science has only begun. Only a small proportion of the usable surface of the earth has been intensively developed. There is still plenty of room for the pioneer who forsakes civilization in order to have his pick of land in some newly opened region, or perhaps merely for the sake of the freedom which he finds on the frontier. The boomer

and the promoter are still much in evidence. One of the urgent political problems is to prevent a few from appropriating nature's gifts for their private benefit. The climax of the human episode — in mere magnitude, certainly, and also, we may hope, as measured by some of our ideal standards, — is still to come.

Every ton of coal that we burn, every scar on the face of nature that we help to make, every new custom which we start or old custom which we modify, above all every act or refusal to act which affects the procreation of children, will influence the uncounted millions who do not yet exist. — Wallas, *The Great Society*, p. 155.

What of it?

. . . The interpretation of the future must, of course, be in large degree hypothetical. Yet this in no sense invalidates the interpretation or renders it useless. An intelligent hypothesis is a far safer guide than blind chance. Indeed, all the conscious progress of the race has been accomplished by following promising hypotheses, which have had, of course, constantly to be reconstructed in the light of new experience. — Betts, *Social Principles of Education*, p. 53.

Past, present, and future are best regarded as constituting the indivisible unity of time, and *each* of the three aspects should therefore be taken account of in every general problem. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 21, p. 523, G. Spiller.

This view of humanity's past and future helps to save from the opportunist sensualism which Omar Khayyám has expressed:

> Drink! for you know not whence you came, nor why:
> Drink! for you know not why you go, nor where.
> — *Rubáiyát*, Fitzgerald's Third Edition, LXXIV.

The soldier, the industrial worker, the teacher, trained to work in a certain niche, in seeking the meaning of his work by the study of contemporary society, finds the full meaning only when he sees that the present is only part of a whole

which includes a great past and a still greater future. The humblest work has a dignity when seen as part of the whole. To shirk it or skimp it is to do the act of the coward who runs away at the critical point in a battle.

The lesson to the teacher is clear enough. Those who have a hand in shaping the life of the future are building not for a day or a year, but for thousands and thousands of years. They determine the character of that climax. The teacher, in so far as she is shaping the lives of her pupils at all, is shaping not merely their lives, but through them she is shaping the lives of millions of others to whom her influence will pass in the succeeding generations. Here is the way it appears to some of them:

> As teachers we feel the responsibilities of our position in the teaching and training of the race. However, the feeling of such a responsibility is no burden, but a pleasure, and an incentive to do our very best.
>
> We know that this is just the beginning of the human episode, and we are filled with hope. We want to make this growing world better, and how else can we do it than by giving the future citizens high ideals?
>
> We as teachers try to work harder, bringing out the best in our pupils so that they can be fitted to help make the climax that is to come.

This sketch of man's career, past and future, sheds light on the ethical problem of defining progress. Even after the climax is passed progress need not cease. Progress, of course, is movement toward a goal, some approach to an ideal. But the goal of society, since it is set by society for itself, recedes as it is approached; each generation frames the ideal for itself in the reforms which it undertakes, and in much the same way as an individual at each successive period of his life sets a new aim for himself appropriate to his circumstances and time of life so that he always has something to live for. A farmer at fifty-seven years of age found his strength diminishing; thereafter he could not do so much hard work. Surely this change was not progress. But by planning his work better

he made his farm yield more than it ever had before. So, although there was decay of one kind, there was advancement of another kind, and the net result might be regarded as progress. The exhaustion of the forests of southern England was a change that spelled national decay; but it helped on the movement of population and industry to the north where the coal beds lay, and so ultimately contributed to progress. So also the exhaustion of all the coal beds of the earth a thousand years hence may lead to changes that will be real progress. Other sources of heat and power of course there will be, but they, too, will be exhausted sometime. During the long ages of the latter part of man's career, when the population of the earth will be declining, there may still be progress in human relationships. As the region of the earth which is habitable becomes narrowed, the available resources will be more carefully apportioned. There may also be more real freedom. It is quite probable that, although there will be fewer children, they will be better reared; that there will be a fuller utilization of the talents of each individual; that longevity will be greater. It is quite possible that there may be a better type of man. The last family to live may cherish one another with greater tenderness than was ever shown before. The last man to live will have his own conscience to be loyal to; disciplined by the experience of the race, he will have the liberty, after the manner of the musicians who went down in the *Titanic* with their instruments playing, to bring the human episode to a heroic conclusion.

But discipline alone cannot do this. There must also be the right kind of man to receive the discipline. Man began his career as a brute; he may end it as a moron. Let us look the situation squarely in the face and admit that the continuance of progress in social organization throughout the millenniums of decline in material resources requires breeding the right kind of human stock from now on until the last child is begotten. Whether the optimistic or the

pessimistic possibilities are to be realized depends on the relative strength of the factors which are to be analyzed in the next three chapters.

Topics

1. Explore the past and the future of your special group, somewhat as the past and the future of mankind have been explored in this chapter. Do not, however, go beyond its existence as a group.

2. Select some phase of human activity in which you are interested. Go through the successive issues of some yearbook (*Statesman's, International, American, Britannica*) or the bound volumes of some periodical, and gather evidence as to whether there has been any progress.

3. Find some institution which has not changed in ten years. It should be one about which you have, or can get, first-hand knowledge.

4. Recapitulation as a principle in biology.

5. Social recapitulation. *Educational Review*, Vol. 15, p. 374, Vandewalker; Vol. 18, p. 344, Allin; *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 8, pp. 145–157, Dopp.

6. Select some period of historical time, of which a bird's-eye view is given on pages 278, 279, and divide it up into shorter periods in such a way as to show the stages of progress.

7. Use the best resources available and make corrections or additions to the chart on page 283.

8. Investigate further the estimates of the length of the geological periods.

9. Same of the probable future of man. Goldthwaite's *Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 3, pp. 425–433.

10. Show on the blackboard the method of the computations for the table on page 290.

Problems

1. Make a definition of progress. What is social progress? What is the ideal of social organization? Of education? Does science aim at progress? Keller, *Societal Evolution*, pp. 247–250.

2. Thomas Davidson says that Aristotle was "the best educated man that ever walked on the surface of this earth." *Aristotle and Ancient Educational Ideals*, p. 154. If that is true, has education progressed?

3. Give an example of a fad or fashion which has come and gone since the Spanish-American War.

4. Give an example of an institution, preferably a local one about which you have first-hand knowledge, which has gone out of existence. Of one which has come into existence and bids fair to be permanent.

5. What is the dynamic or genetic phase of any science? Of the science of education? Of the study of society? Is genetic sociology different from history?

References

Bayliss, *Lolami, the Little Cliff-Dweller.* A primary textbook.

Brinton, *Races and Peoples*, especially pp. 79–102.

Brown, *When the World Was Young*, in the series of Nature and Industry Readers.

* Chapin, *Social Evolution*, pp. 39–101.

* Clodd, *The Story of Primitive Man.*

Deniker, *The Races of Man*, pp. 123–127.

Dopp, Industrial and Social History Series: *The Tree-Dwellers, The Early Cave-Men, The Later Cave-Men, The Early Sea-People.* Other volumes in preparation. Textbooks for primary and intermediate classes.

Dopp, *The Place of Industries in Elementary Education.*

Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days.* Gives a good idea of society before the industrial revolution. Readable for older children.

* Ellwood, *The Social Problem*, pp. 48–91.

Geike, *The Antiquity of Man in Europe.*

Gesell, *The Normal Child and Primary Education*, pp. 46–60.

* Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, Part III, "The Historical Evolution of Society," especially pp. 208–238.

* Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, pp. 85–120.

Harpers' Monthly Magazine, Vol. 135, pp. 33–38, Martin, "Two Generations."

Huxley, *Man's Place in Nature*, especially pp. 157–208.

Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 454–473, 490–524.

Humphrey, *Mankind*, pp. 97–107.

Ihering, *Evolution of the Aryan*, pp. 1–65.

Jordan and Kellogg, *Evolution and Animal Life*, pp. 451–469. A textbook in zoölogy.

Keane, *Ethnology*, Chapter I.

Keane, *The World's Peoples*, Chapter I.

Keith, *The Antiquity of Man.*

* Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society*, pp. 97–190.

Lankester, *The Kingdom of Man*, pp. 1–65, "Nature's Insurgent Son."

Lubbock, Sir John (Lord Avebury), *Pre-Historic Times.* One of the early books revealing man's remote past.

Marvin, *The Living Past: a Sketch of Western Progress.* A volume with scope similar to this chapter. The first chapter is "Looking Back-

ward"; the second is "The Childhood of the Race"; the twelfth and last is "Looking Forward."

Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 3–45.

Nida, *Ab, the Cave-Man.*

* Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age.* Chapters IV and V treat of the Crô-Magnon race.

Ripley, *Races of Europe*, pp. 165–179, the Crô-Magnon race.

Robinson and Breasted, *Outlines of European History*, Part I, pp. 1–26, a chapter of material hitherto regarded as "prehistoric." A text-book for high schools.

Sayce, *Introduction to the Science of Language.* Preface deals with the origin of the Aryans.

Scientific Monthly, Vol. 4, pp. 16–26, Barrell, "The Tertiary Ape-Man."

Smithsonian Institution, *Report*, 1913, pp. 491–552, Hrdlička. See also reports for other years.

Starr, *Some First Steps in Human Progress*, especially pp. 13–135, 283–293.

Taylor, *Origin of the Aryans:* Chapter II, races of Europe; Chapter III, Neolithic culture.

Thomas, *Source-Book for Social Origins*, pp. 335–443, primitive technology.

Wallas, *The Great Society*, pp. 3–19.

Ward, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 169–178.

Ward, *Pure Sociology*, pp. 38–40.

Waterloo, *The Story of Ab.* An adaptation of Nida's *Ab, the Cave-Man*, for primary readers.

Wissler, *The American Indian*, pp. 245–356, seven chapters. Brings together all that is known about the development of aboriginal culture in America.

Progress and the Future

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 12, pp. 779–821, Woods, "Progress as a Sociological Concept."

Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, pp. 205–224.

Brinton, *Races and Peoples*, pp. 277–300.

Canada, Geological Survey, *Coal Resources of the World*, pp. xvii–xxxix, summary of the three volumes.

Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, pp. 336–360.

Keller, *Societal Evolution*, "Progress" in the index.

Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society*, pp. 372–396.

Outlook, Vol. 105, pp. 401–411, 755–758; Vol. 106, pp. 273, 274.

Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 185–189.

Scribner's Magazine, Vol. 60, pp. 547–556, Backeland, "Renewing the Earth from the Air."

* Shaler, *Man and the Earth*, especially Chapter II, power; III, metals; IV, soil; IX, climate; XI, animal life; XII, the last.

Smithsonian Institution, 1913, pp. 213–221, Jaumann, "Modern Ideas on the End of the World."

Spencer, *Essays*, Vol. I, pp. 8–62, "Progress: Its Law and Cause."

Survey, Vol. 26, pp. 247–252, Robinson, "Is Mankind Advancing?"

Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, pp. 83–148.

CHAPTER XII

HEREDITY AND VARIATION

. . . Civilized human societies must be . . . in a continuous process of readjustment. Progress is the very law of their being: and if the ruling classes in any society attempt to enforce a policy of standing still, there is bound to be trouble. The only way to avert social revolution, as Turgot declares, is through suitable and well-timed reforms. The surest way to bring on a revolution, on the other hand, is for the ruling classes to attempt to preserve an order of society which no longer works well. . . . — Ellwood, *The Social Problem*, p. 34.

Change is not desirable for its own sake. The heritage of the past is infinitely precious. Some things appear to be settled once for all, or a thousand times for all. Yet change is indispensable if there is to be progress. . . . And men will cease to be men when they are so intimidated by prestige and so bribed or drugged by interest that they will not lift a hand for faith and hope and love — *faith* in humanity which has martyrs and mothers as well as tyrants and sycophants, *hope* for humanity which has a future far longer than its past and full of ever-accelerating movement, *love* of humanity which suffers needless woes and is rich with possibilities as yet unfulfilled. — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, p. 120, Hayes, "The Horrors of Respectability."

In describing the manner in which progress comes about the sociologists adopt to some extent the language and ideas of the biologists. The title of this chapter, and also of the next, are biological terms the meanings of which have permeated sociological thought. The array of technical terminology may seem appalling, but the reader is urged to persevere in the mastery of it.

Heredity

The factor in societal evolution corresponding to heredity in organic evolution is tradition. . . . Heredity in nature causes the offspring to

resemble or repeat the present type; tradition in societal evolution causes the mores of one period to repeat those of the preceding period. — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, p. 212.

Heredity is the basal principle in all discussions of progress, whether in biology or sociology. It means simply continuity; a quality once established tends to persist. The plants and animals of any one generation resemble their parents in most respects; they tend to "breed true"; "like produces like." So also in society. A primary group, having once formed about some leader or in connection with some occupation, tends to keep the same character. Public opinion, once established, is a difficult thing to change. A social class, once formed, will move on indefinitely in the same current of thought unless something happens to force a change. An institution, as was shown at some length in Chapter VIII, is a group of persons who are organized in such a way as to hold themselves and their successors to some fixed ideal. Their government is the mechanism on which they depend most of all to do this.

It is more than tradition, however, that holds society to its old ways. Tradition, as ordinarily understood, means oral delivery. But delivery through literary remains cannot be overlooked. In cases requiring exactness and uniformity, as with much in law and science, literary form of communication is more important than oral. Then there are other material remains in endless variety. The technology of the past comes to us largely in the form of tools and machines. The location of our national capital was first an idea in the heads of a few men at a dinner table; next it was an act of Congress in written form; now, unsuitable as it is, it cannot be changed, because to do so would render worthless a billion dollars' worth of land and buildings. All attempts to bring the metric system into use in this country have been frustrated, not by the difficulty of teaching it to children, or even of getting adults to learn it and think in terms of it, but by the

impracticability of using it to describe objects in common use and to make computations regarding them.

How, for instance, would the piece of lumber known as a "two-by-four" be designated in metric terms? How could we express measures of land in hectares when the greater part of the country is already laid out in rectangular blocks of a round number of acres each? The piece of land known as a "forty," such as has been sold millions of times and will be sold many millions of times more, would have to be reckoned as 16 hectares, 18 ares, and 80 centares. We might discontinue making "two-by-fours" and make "five-by-tens" (centimeters) instead, but the "forties" will always be with us.

What one generation receives from its predecessor is, first of all, a vast material equipment, some of it in continuous use like houses and railroads, some of it used only intermittently like books in libraries, and some simply abandoned like the old canals of Ohio. Then there are the knowledge and habits which are acquired by observation and coöperation as well as by oral delivery. Now to call all of this "tradition" is to give that word a technical meaning for sociology much different from its common meaning. It would seem better to call it "social inheritance," and to call the process by which it is received "social heredity." That this is appropriating biological terms should be no valid objection. The more the various sciences adopt a common terminology for things which are fundamentally alike, the easier each science will be of acquisition and the richer its content.

. . . It is inheritance; for it shows the attainments of the fathers handed on to the children; but it is not physical heredity, since it is not transmitted physically at birth.

It is hereditary in that the child cannot escape it. It is as inexorably his as the color of his eyes and the shape of his nose. He is born into a system of social relationships just as he is born into a certain quality of air. As he grows in body by breathing the one, so he grows in mind by absorbing the other. The influence is as real and as tangible; and the only reason that it is variable in its results upon different individuals is that each individual has his physical heredity besides, and the

outcome is always the outcome of the two factors, — natural temperament and social heredity. . . . — Baldwin, *Social and Ethical Interpretations*, 4th ed., pp. 69, 70.

The problem here, then, is to see how that chain of heredity is broken. In order to have progress there must first of all be something new. How do new organisms take their beginning? How is a new variety of plants developed, or a new breed of cattle? How does any group of persons ever get away from its social heritage? How does a caste come to break its traditions? What makes institutions grow and change? We have seen in the preceding chapter that change is going on everywhere, and always has been. Let us try to set in order, first, the methods by which social variation comes about, and then the causes which lie back of it.

Variation

The biologists recognize two ways in which variation comes about. Let us start with the commonplace observation that individuals differ; there are no two alike, even children of the same parents, puppies of the same litter, plants from the same seed. *Continuous variation* is simply the accumulation of these slight differences; they are trifling in amount in any one generation but become important when accumulated in the same direction for many generations. Then there is *discontinuous variation* or *mutation*, which is a great change coming all at once in a single individual and breeding true in the descendants. Examples of these two methods in social variation will be given presently.

Two other methods remain to be distinguished. *Differentiation* is the appearance of differences between individuals of the same species or between societies of the same kind when they are dispersed and thus given opportunity to grow apart by continuous variation. In this way varieties become established which are derived from a common ancestral type.

Agglomeration is a method of social variation corresponding to hybridization in physical organisms. When different varieties come into contact with each other they sometimes give rise to new varieties that are different from the parent stocks.

The most useful discussion of causes of variation is by Ross. He makes this distinction between cause and condition:

> . . . The appearance of a new situation is considered to be the effect of the *precipitating* factor. The ferment, the igniting spark, the touching of the electric button, the knocking away of the stay block, the turning of the lever, is looked upon as the cause of what ensues. The factors already present are termed the *conditions*, not the *causes*, of the change. . . . Desire is the steam which drives the machinery of society. It is behind all social activities, beneath all groupings and relationships. Its action is essentially statical. If it produces change, that change is incidental. The causes of social transformation are to be sought, not among desires, but in something of a different nature which changes their direction or modifies the framework within which they operate. . . . — Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 189, 193.

He avoids the term "evolution" because it —

> . . . is apt to convey the idea that the series of social changes is the mere unfolding of characters pre-formed in the very germ or bud of society. This idea is misleading and should be avoided. It is unsafe to assume that the succession of social changes is predetermined. . . . — Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, p. 185.

Ross also avoids the use of other biological terms such as those which have been introduced into the foregoing pages of this chapter, and employs instead a classification and terminology of his own. His own summary of it is given herewith to facilitate comparison. The reader who does not relish the biological terminology should read Ross's entire chapter from which this paragraph is taken:

> The causes or factors of social change are *statico-dynamic processes*, *transmutations*, and *stimuli*. *Statico-dynamic processes* are those ordinary functional activities which leave behind them as by-products cumulative effects capable of causing social change. *Transmutations* are those

gradual unconscious alterations which occur in consequence of the inability of human beings to reproduce accurately the copy their fathers set them. *Stimuli*, however, which are those factors of change lying outside of the strictly social sphere, furnish most of the impulses toward social transformation. The principal orders of stimuli are the growth of population, the accumulation of wealth, migration, innovation, the cross-fertilization of cultures, the interaction of groups, the conjugation of societies, and alteration of the environment. — Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, p. 254.

Formal Application

The remaining portion of this chapter will be devoted to the illustration of the terms which have now been given, with somewhat fuller statement in some cases of the principles which lie behind them. The arrangement is that which has been followed through Parts I and II. In other words, the principles of variation will now be seen at work upon the factors of society and the forms of social organization.

1. *Population*

The quality which makes society change is that it is composed, not of inert objects which can be put away in a museum and kept forever, but of living individuals who spend their years and then pass away to make room for others. The succession of generations makes society a dynamic thing. Population is never stationary; it either increases or decreases, and usually in the same direction for a long time, thus giving an example of continuous variation.

. . . Human population tends to increase up to the limit of the supporting power of the environment, *on a given stage of the arts*, and *for a given standard of living* — that is, for a given stage of civilization. — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, p. 24.

The most rapid increase in population comes about through immigration such as the United States has received in great waves: from Ireland beginning in 1845, from Germany in 1848, from the Scandinavian countries after the Civil War, and from southeastern Europe after 1900.

Then change in population becomes a factor in effecting changes in social organization. When England had a scanty population, she exported wool; when population became more dense, the wool was manufactured at home and more was imported until England led the world in the manufacture of cloth. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the population of England began to press upon the food supply, much cultivated land was turned into sheep pastures; grain could easily be imported but sheep could not; thereafter the additions to the population had to follow other industries than agriculture. The landowners long kept up protective duties, especially on grain, in order to keep up the value and rental of their land. But toward the middle of the nineteenth century the manufacturing and commercial interests became strong enough to sweep away the protective system and establish free trade. The fall of Rome was due not alone to the barbarian invasions. The population of the Empire had been declining from internal causes for centuries before the overthrow came; for more than a hundred years the Germans had been coming in to settle on the vacant lands. In the United States during the nineteenth century the scarcity of population in comparison with resources was a powerful stimulus to the introduction of labor-saving machinery. But in China and Japan, with their dense populations, tourists are still drawn about in jinrikishas, and ships are loaded with coal passed up in buckets by hand. Even the building of railroads has been opposed in China because they would take away work from the people. In Chapter I were noted the changes that occur in the educational system of a country as the population changes from sparsity to density.

2. *Location*

As Location determines to a great extent the kind of society which may exist upon it, so also when location changes, society must make new adaptations. The change in the location

may be the indirect result of man's own activity, thus exemplifying continuous variation again, and also Ross's statico-dynamic changes. The exhaustion of the forests of southern England is an example already noted. The soil of the South Atlantic states became exhausted from constant cropping with tobacco and cotton. This compelled the plantation owners to migrate westward and made a demand for more slave states. In general, the settlers in a new country exploit the virgin resources by producing some one or a few staple commodities; then after a time the exhaustion of these resources makes diversified industry necessary. Now neither of these two conditions comes from the deliberate choice of the settlers, either collectively or individually. Given the character of the people and the nature of the world market, the location itself virtually dictates how it shall be used by the first settlers and how by later occupiers.

One spring the school children dammed the brook which ran through one side of the school yard. The object was to run a small water wheel. The water wheel was put into operation, but also a neighboring garden was flooded. This flooding of the garden was a by-product of the water wheel project and did not enter into the children's plan at all.

. . . The peculiarity of American institutions is the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people — to the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life. . . . Thus American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character. . . . — Bullock, *Selected Readings in Economics*, pp. 23, 24, Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History."

Then, as appeared in the preceding chapter, location may change from physical causes. An example of this on a large scale was the drying up of Central Asia. The Tarim Basin once contained an inland sea where the desert of Gobi now is, and the surrounding lands were well watered. In time this sea dried up, except for a salt lake, Lob-Nor, remaining at the east end, and a vast region, once populous, became uninhabitable. This forced the people to migrate: China, India, eastern Asia and eastern Europe all felt the shock of invasion. The hordes precipitated upon Europe overthrew the Roman Empire, planted the Magyars in Hungary and the Turks in Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula, called forth the Crusades, and subjected Russia to the rule of the Tartars. Another example is the change in the location of the herring in the North Sea which contributed to the decline of the Hanseatic League and the rise of strong monarchies in the north of Europe.

There is much popular misconception, however, about changes in climate, for the reason that it exhibits cycles of change. These will be more fully considered in Chapter XV.

3. *Human Nature*

Man is an animal and is subject to variation just the same as any other species of animal. An example of this is the enlargement of the fore-brain, with the corresponding mental capacity, from the Pithecanthropus, up through the Neanderthaloid and other intermediate types, to the Caucasian of to-day. So also is the development of the different varieties of the human species — black, brown, yellow, white, with all their subdivisions. How these variations came about are problems for ethnology, anthropology, and biology. Whether modifications — changes produced in one generation by its environment or mode of life — are transmitted to descendants, is an old biological question which seems to be still unsettled. Does the education of parents, for instance, predispose their

children to receive education, entirely apart from its influence on the environment of the children? This question is of much importance to sociology and to education. The balance of opinion among biologists to-day favors a negative answer.

When different races inhabit the same region, a change in human nature goes on. One race will multiply faster than the others and so displace them in time, making its own qualities predominate in place of theirs. In this way the Polish race in eastern Prussia is displacing the German — or was, up to the disturbances caused by the World War — in spite of efforts by the government to the contrary. In France the Celtic element is displacing the Frankish or Teutonic. In the St. Lawrence valley the people of French descent are displacing the English.

There will also be intermarriage between the races. The result will be a hybrid stock which will be in some respects a blend of the two and different from either. With respect to some qualities inheritance follows the Mendelian law, a certain proportion of the children having the characteristics of one parent and a certain proportion the characteristics of the other. The following is an attempt to state the Mendelian law in concise form:

There are some qualities, called unit qualities, which are inherited without change. Hybrids, after the first generation, keep reverting to the original qualities of the ancestors. A certain proportion in each generation either possess a quality in its purity or else lack it altogether. The proportion depends on the law of chance, which, as we know, gives uniform results for large numbers. Suppose for example that a boy has black marbles in one box and white ones in another, and then arranges his marbles in pairs by taking one from each box to make a pair. These pairs of marbles, composed in each case of one black marble and one white one, might be likened to the first generation of offspring from the crossing of two thoroughbred stocks; they are all hybrids; by no possibility can they be anything else. Now let the boy make pairs again by selecting marbles at random from the pairs already formed. The result will be, one fourth black, one fourth white and the remaining half

both black and white. So the offspring of the hybrids will be one-fourth pure stock of one kind, one-fourth pure stock of the other kind, and one-half hybrids again. Now with regard to the hybrids there is a further complication. In them a unit quality sometimes becomes a blend with its opposite. If black Andalusian fowls are crossed with white, the hybrids are blue; then the offspring of these hybrids revert to the original types in the proportions given above. But some unit qualities never blend with their opposites even in the first generation; they are either present or else altogether absent. Thus if a full-blooded Swede marries a full-blooded Italian, the children will have the black eyes of the Italian; the quality of black eyes is "dominant," that of blue eyes "recessive." Then if this hybrid stock intermarries with its kind, one-fourth of the offspring will be blue-eyed like the Swedes, one-fourth will be black-eyed who if bred with their kind will have only black-eyed children — that is, with respect to eye color, they have become pure Italians; the remaining half will be black-eyed hybrids whose descendants will revert to the original pure types in the same proportions. If hybrids cross with either of the pure stocks, the same principle holds, only the proportions of the offspring reverting to the pure stock varies as mathematical computation would indicate. — Adapted from several accounts.

Unit characters are to all intents and purposes immutable, and they do not change during the lifetime of a language or an empire. The skull shape of the Egyptian fellaheen, in the unchanging environment of the Nile Valley, is absolutely identical in measurements, proportions, and capacity with skulls found in the predynastic tombs dating back more than six thousand years. — Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, pp. 15, 16.

The Mendelian law has been known such a short time that its application, especially to mankind and other slow-growing species, is still imperfectly understood. What qualities blend with their opposites and what qualities do not, what qualities are dominant and what are recessive, what qualities are unit qualities and what qualities are compound, what difference it makes whether the parent possessing a given quality be the father or the mother, — these are problems about which more will be known a century hence. But acquaintance with the Mendelian principle should be a part

of the equipment of a teacher, who often has occasion to interpret a child's nature in the light of qualities found in the parents or grandparents.

It is clear enough that the crossing of varieties brings variation. With plants and lower animals there is once in a while a blend that will breed true; that is, the Mendelian law does not apply at all with respect to the original qualities composing the blend; a new quality is established at once. The same may be true of mankind. Furthermore, when two persons marry, especially if they come from different nationalities, they bring together two lines of heredity that run independent of each other many centuries back; their offspring, therefore, have combinations of qualities that were never made before. A quality may be a unit quality, following the Mendelian law, but still combine with the qualities that are not inconsistent with it and so make a new type of individual. Thus the crossing of Teutonic stock with Italian may combine the stature, honesty, and reasoning power of the Teuton with the complexion and delicacy of the Italian. St. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest scholar of the Middle Ages, very likely sprang from some such combination as this. Occasionally there is an atavism — the inheritance of a quality from some remote ancestor. Once in a long time there is just the right combination of qualities to produce an albino, or a genius, or a freak.

Variation in human nature brings with it variation in society. Professor Ross makes "the innovating individual" one of the eight stimuli to social change, and sometimes the resulting variation is great enough and sudden enough to constitute a mutation. Socrates, Philip of Macedon, Mohammed, Sir Isaac Newton, and Charles Darwin, unmistakably set great changes in motion. What the world would have been without them we cannot imagine.

> . . . The genius is not a social but a vital phenomenon. Inventions and discoveries break in from what Professor James terms "the physio-

logical cycle." Social destiny pivots on the advent of a brain that can invent gunpowder, the watermill, the compass, the printing-press, the locomotive — in a word on *individual causes*. At every instant a people has a number of paths open to it, and which one it will follow depends on those physiological variations which produce genius. . . . — Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 198, 199.

. . . The creative influence of personality can never be safely left out of account in sociology. . . . — Ellwood, *The Social Problem*, p. 71.

. . . The initiation of all wise or noble things comes and must come from individuals; generally at first from some one individual. . . .— Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 119.

. . . Cæsar was a social inventor when he established the principle that insolvency shall not cost the debtor his freedom. So was St. Paul when he conceived that the gospel was for Gentiles as well as for Jews. So was St. Benedict when he devised the "Rule" that gave form to the innumerable monastic communities of western Europe. So was Hildebrand when he imposed sacerdotal celibacy upon the church. . . . Henry IV instituted the invalid soldiers' home. Grotius modified the relations of nations. Robert Raikes invented the Sunday school, Toynbee the social settlement, Le Claire the profit-sharing group, Raffeisen and Schulze-Delitzsch the coöperative credit association. . . . — Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 232, 233.

Summing up at this point the several considerations which precede: we see that man possesses in the brain a sort of specialized adapting organ which relieves the rest of the body from the necessity of structural adaptation; that the human mode of adaptation is thus mental, and that it is also social. . . . The brain becomes *the* organ of adaptation . . . . — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, p. 39.

4. *Communication*

This, as was shown in Chapter IV, is the connecting medium of society, and any change in the mechanism by which it is carried on involves a change in society itself. When written records came to tell one generation exactly what its predecessors decreed, the range of social heredity was enlarged and stable institutions arose. When printing came to diffuse knowledge among the many, then the reading public became extensive and powerful; universal education and popular

government became possible. With the advent of facilities for rapid transportation and communication, every kind of institution forthwith became organized on a large scale. The Western Union Telegraph Company reached the Pacific Coast in 1861, and soon after acquired control of lines in every part of the United States; in the telegraph business that company itself became the first example of the kind of organization which the facilities it offered to the public made possible in other lines of activity; it was the first trust. The United States Steel Corporation would not be possible without communication by electricity. Even the ship at sea is no longer isolated, but may be reached at any time by orders from land.

The automobile has brought new relations to the well-to-do; it has also brought a new type of criminal. The motion picture has given a new kind of recreation, organized on a large scale hitherto unknown. It has displayed the operations of the underworld before millions of children. The large-scale organization is now being developed to make the motion picture an instrument of instruction as well; only a certain development of the educational machinery is necessary to display whatever we wish to the view of all the children of the state. The phonograph has done the same for sound; proper organization can bring the voice that all want to hear to the ears of all, and for all future time. The solitary student of French can hear a master pronounce it. A club of music lovers in an Iowa village can hear Caruso or a symphony orchestra. What is needed above everything else to-day is the enlistment of sound judgment, correct taste, and the broadest possible human sympathy to select the best for every purpose; then also a nationwide coöperation of every kind of social center — church, school, public hall, club, theater, — to take the best and diffuse it by these new mechanisms to the people who are ready to use it.

One of Ross's classes of stimuli is "contact and cross-fer-

tilization of cultures," which is a variety of agglomeration. The extent to which the members of one group come in contact with those of another depends first of all on just these mechanical facilities for communication, and after that on the growth of the habit of such contact into the forms of social organization. A century ago only a few diplomats, merchants, travelers, and immigrants had direct communication with a foreign nationality; now they are counted by the million. Formerly it was only through persons like these that current literature could be secured from a foreign country. Now (war conditions excepted) a student in a Missouri village can get a book or paper from England as easily as he can from St. Louis, without appreciable difference in expense or great difference in time. The transformation of the world which has come in the last hundred years may be ascribed to the quickening influence of this contact with the unlike — as far as anything so extensive may be ascribed to a single factor. On the other hand, wherever social inertia has been found, it has nearly always been ascribed to lack of communication with the outside world.

5. *Primary Groups*

These are the nursery of whatever innovating tendencies there may be latent in the population. They are the one perfectly spontaneous form of social organization. In them differentiation is bred. They are not made, but grow. When a group ceases to be spontaneous it quietly breaks up, leaving the members free to give their time to other groups. Its organization is so simple that formalism can get no foothold. Its government is a little democracy; each member counts in the activity of a given moment for just what he is worth, quickly sensitive, however, to the wishes of his colleagues. It is so small and satisfies such an elemental need of human nature that it keeps up its existence independent of large organizations, and if need be even in defiance of them. The

teacher or parent who undertakes to hold sway over the child too constantly, especially in a repressive way, finds that there is a marvelous capacity for developing unauthorized kinds of association. The primary group develops the capacity of its members. Each individual is a member, presumably, because the strongest impulses in him there find expression and appreciation.

Take the great innovator, the genius, if you please. When he gives his original ideas to the world, he does not usually reveal how those ideas were matured, how this feature was suggested by that friend in quiet conversation one day, how his own thoughts acquire clearness and force and practicality as he talks them over with his companions, how he begins to see his pet project becoming a reality only when he hears it echoed over the dinner table from the lips of his guests. These are the minutiæ of invention that soon pass into oblivion, like the scaffolding of a building. But the architect knows that the scaffolding is necessary, and the teacher as the architect of personality should know that primary association is necessary to mature the possibilities of any human soul.

As the individual advances through life he never outgrows this dependence on primary association, but like every other formative influence it is especially important in early years. Children and young people must have many associates of their own age if they are to find the ones they need. In balancing the pros and cons between the large school and the small one this is a vital consideration. We see a boy spending his time mostly with three playmates; but that does not mean that he will have the play he needs in a place where there are only three possible playmates. He needs playmates of the right kind and in sufficient variety. As he grows toward maturity the range of the variety increases.

There is intellectual teamwork. . . . In each subgroup — church, college, trade-union, or coöperative society — there goes on a joint work-

ing out of opinion as to the special problems and policies of that group; and while opinion may reflect the counsel of some sage member, it is usually the outcome of discussion and consensus, *i.e.* of coöperative thinking.

. . . Team-thinking goes on only among persons well matched in equipment. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 22, p. 307, Ross, "The Organization of Thought."

6. *Social Mind*

. . . The great personalities of history stamp upon their social period their creative faith. Whole eras rightly bear the name of some great genius who thus focuses and in a measure directs the stream of history which runs through him and carries him onward. And so we speak of a Copernican era, a Napoleonic era, a Darwinian era, etc.

In the evolution of social minds, as in the case of individual, nature seems to strive, in the midst of the fluctuations, to develop and preserve certain distinct *types* — types of race mind, of national mind, of family minds, of religious minds, etc. . . . The Hebrew mind itself is a unification of similar tribal types. The various Protestant denominations are merging into a more general type with a fusion of differences as contrasted with the distinct Catholic type of Christianity. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 19, p. 37, J. E. Boodin, "The Existence of Social Minds."

Social ideals arise in the minds of exceptional individuals who perceive that their conceptions of their fellow men, like their ideas of the external world in general, fall into intellectual arrangements or combinations that differ from objective arrangements in the world of reality. Among such combinations are some that seem to the minds that make them preferable to the combinations existing in fact. These mental complexes become ideals of a social order that appeals to imagination and desire. Communicated by their creators to their fellow men they oftentimes have the power to call forth persistent effort to transform the external order of things into a realization of the ideal. . . . — American Economic Association, *Publications*, Third Series, Vol. 5, p. 408, Giddings, "A Theory of Social Causation."

Social mind is another spontaneous form of organization. But it differs from the primary group in that it is not beyond the reach of artificial propagation. It cannot be forced, but it can be coaxed or fostered in a certain direction. The

elaborate devices employed during a political campaign are evidence of this. But for the most part the social mind is a growth for which human nature is the soil, everyday experience the water, and communication in primary groups the sunshine. The seed is the innovating individuals, and is fertilized by the influence of other groups, again illustrating agglomeration and "cross-fertilization of cultures."

> History . . . shows that nearly every truth or mechanism is the fusion of a large number of original ideas proceeding from numerous collaborators, most of whom have been forgotten. . . .
>
> If all the parts of the universe are interchained in a certain measure, any one phenomenon will not be the effect of a single cause, but the resultant of causes infinitely numerous; it is, one often says, the consequence of the state of the universe a moment before. . . . — Poincaré, *The Foundations of Science*, pp. 227, 231.

As we look back over the five preceding topics, the social mind appears like a lake in the landscape: it mirrors all that lies beyond. When an innovating individual in some primary group discovers a new idea, the group soon puts it on the communicating mechanism and passes it on to other groups; if important enough it permeates the population of the locality and so becomes a part of the social mind. Every passing experience — the rumor of war that disturbs business, the prediction of rain that alters the plans for the celebration of Memorial Day, the victory of an athletic team in a distant city — is reflected in the popular impression of the day as the lake reflects the clouds in the sky. Dean Briggs refers to the teacher's popularity with his students as "the thin ice on which we try to skate."

Most of these popular impressions pass away like the cloud, but the stronger and more persistent ones merge into public opinion and through that effect durable changes in society. Of course everything that happens leaves some trace on society. For a simile to express this we might liken the social mind to a chemical solution; everything that has been

put into it, every process it has undergone, has contributed to make it what it is, and another element or compound added to it will combine with something already there to make it still different. To put it less figuratively, the social mind has memory: what it is to-day is the resultant of what it was yesterday, and a year ago, and a century ago, as developed by the impressions made upon it since. This is what the historian means when he says that the reason for a given attitude of a people is historical. The social mind has a conservatism, along with all of its susceptibility to passing impressions.

There may be a habit of change or a habit of conservatism. A frontier community has the habit of change. People there want everything "up-to-date" — their government, amusements, schools, and even their funerals. In an old country with a settled population the habit of conservatism is likely to obtain. A French writer of a dozen years ago told how the habit of initiative was declining in France. Parents would seek occupations (or marriages) for their children where they would be free from care; they preferred the public service, which, while it gives little opportunity to rise, offers great security and a pension for old age.[1]

Change comes soonest in superficial forms of the social mind such as popular impression and fashion. Improvements in competitive activity spread rapidly. Public sentiment, on the other hand, changes very slowly.

. . . The African chieftain has imitated the dress coat without any conception of European ideas. The Goths imitated the external forms of politics and religion, long before they could enter into the spirit of the ideas of the civilization which they supplanted. The immigrant imitates our clothes and manners, before he understands our language. The Japanese have imitated the militarism and commercialism of the Occident, but the religious, artistic, and ethical ideals of the West have had comparatively little influence upon them. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 19, p. 39, J. E. Boodin, "The Existence of Social Minds."

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 9, pp. 141, 142.

7. Social Classes

One of the continuous variations which the inspection of statistics of population reveals is the shifting of the balance between the social classes. A change in the proportionate numbers of two classes involves change in their relations one to another. When a class that was once subordinate grows into power, it is likely to be arrogant; though it will probably remedy some old abuses, its ideals on the whole will be unformed; it will be certain to bring some disorganization in the process of developing its own new ideals. The triumph of Jacksonian democracy in 1829 was a good example of this, and the great example just now (1918) is found in Russia. On the other hand, when a ruling class is forced, through relative decline of numbers or for any other reason, into a subordinate place, say in politics or industry, it is likely to be exclusive, cynical, conservative, inclined to formalism, clinging tenaciously to whatever hold it can retain on the finer kinds of power, such as education, religion, leadership in art or science, or even precedence in fashionable society. This was illustrated in Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts after the Revolution. It is illustrated to-day in the old Yankee stock in New England and in other regions where there has been a large influx of new immigrants. Does some foreign nationality, hitherto known only in the humbler walks of life, show an increased proportion of its children in higher educational institutions? Then it will be grasping after leadership in the next generation, giving a new viewpoint to our education, religion, politics, industry, and what not.

The shares of the respective classes in the social income of a country are continually shifting. The falling prices from 1873 to 1896 put an unexpected burden on such debtor classes as the farmers of the newly opened West, leading them to organize for their own protection; on the other hand, it gave unexpected purchasing power to the recipients of interest and other fixed incomes who lived chiefly in the East, thus

establishing among them a standard of luxury never before known, with the many subtle forms of influence which that brings. Since 1896 these tendencies have been reversed. The new standards of luxury have been set by those who have exploited the durable forms of property — lands, mines, forests, water powers and water fronts, favorably located factories, railroads, and the like. At the same time the increase in the number of those who depend on their wages for a living, combined with the exhaustion of free land, has brought labor problems to the fore.

. . . Thus the commercial regions become critical and progressive, while the rural parts cherish old dynastic loyalties. The town artisans become free-thinking, but the peasants remain devout. As cities grow big, we see more of an urban type having little in common with the farming population. Mining the precious metals fosters a restless, speculative spirit that goes ill with the home-loving conservative bred by agriculture. Machine industry gathers multitudes into its tentacular grasp and sets its stamp upon them. Mixing of bloods brings race war nearer by multiplying the number of aspiring mulattoes and near-whites to whom the rigid color line is intolerable. — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, pp. 352, 353, Ross, "Estrangement in Society."

The dwindling or disappearance of the middle class, leaving the people in two camps, poor and rich, is therefore an ill omen. On the one hand is a nobility of wealth that, having rid itself of every useful service to society, has given itself up to luxurious enjoyment; on the other, a rough, uncouth, unbridled, and irresponsible peasantry or populace — and no broad bridges leading from the one to the other. Neither camp feels that the other is a part of "us." Each feels that its interests will be sacrificed if the other gets the upper hand, and will therefore go to any length to gain and to keep power. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, p. 631, Ross, "Social Decadence."

Many examples occur to me as I look back over the twenty years of my connection with one normal school. The proportion of teachers who have college degrees of one kind or another is larger. The proportion of well-to-do students who have money enough to pay their way is larger, leaving a smaller proportion who work to pay their expenses. Fewer students board themselves, notwithstanding the improvement in facilities for light housekeeping of which the teachers now avail themselves

more largely. The students who never graduated from a high school, formerly in the majority, have decreased in numbers to such an extent that the elementary course provided for them has been abolished.

In 1911 an arrangement was effected between the State University and the normal schools whereby the normal schools give the first two years of university work. This increased the proportion of our students who look forward to law, medicine, business, or engineering, and also of those who look forward to nothing in particular except having a good time.

In addition there has been established in each normal school some special department. The department at our school is the industrial, to prepare teachers of manual training. The fifty boys in this department soon made us aware that the motile type of student, which we had known of old, had received a large reënforcement in numbers. The teachers of language had to readjust their work. But a year soon came when we won the state championship in both basket ball and football.

8. *Institutions*

This is the form of organization which is designed to endure. There have been institutions which professed not to change.

> If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book. — *Bible*, " Revelation, " XXII, 18.

But no institution can avoid change. An institution is composed of persons, and persons die off in time to be replaced by others who will be different to some extent. The personnel of an institution is constantly changing like the drops of water in a cataract.

The continuous variation of biology probably finds its nearest parallel in the realm of sociology when the historian traces the development of some great institution such as the papacy or the English Constitution. The development extends over centuries. The name of a reformer often seems rather to mark change already accomplished than a real origin; the change had come so gradually as to be unnoticed before; the persons who created it mostly passed away unchronicled.

One of the eight stimuli to change which Ross distinguishes

is "migration to a new environment." To transplant an institution is to change it. Every extension of the constitution of the United States over new territory has resulted in amendments or new interpretations. Monarchy in England is quite a different thing from monarchy in France or Massachusetts. Christianity among the Romans developed a different kind of institution from what it did among the Greeks or Hebrews; among the Teutons it became still different, and to-day it is becoming different again among the Japanese and Chinese. A school in Kansas has a different spirit from a school in Prussia. Even changing a recitation from one room to another will make a difference in a class.

Notice may be given here to continuous variations of a kind which Ross calls transmutations:

> . . . These are changes of an involuntary character due to the difficulty one generation has in accurately reproducing the copy set by its predecessor. The speech of parents being imperfectly imitated by their children, there results that accumulation of minute unnoticed changes which is described by the Law of Transmutation of vowels and consonants. Natural gestures and actions become fossilized into meaningless forms. . . .
>
> Institutions and relations likewise glide insensibly into forms that would not consciously be assumed. Presents freely given to a chief pass into presents expected and finally demanded, while volunteered help passes into exacted service. — Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 204, 205. . . .

Transmutations in great numbers are revealed by the changes in the meanings of words. The "commencement" of the vacation for English schools has become for American colleges the state occasion which brings the academic year to a close. The "doctor" of the Middle Ages (from the Latin, *docere*, to teach) has become the medical practitioner. Academic degrees that once conferred definite privileges have now become mere honorary titles.

The pressure of students into the normal schools who have no thought of teaching, but who wish to do straight college

work, might be classed as a transmutation, and the formal arrangement for it mentioned two pages back was only an acceptance of what had already grown up at variance with the primary aim of the normal school. Harvard College, organized to train preachers for the Indians, now confers a hundred times as many degrees in other subjects as in divinity. A club of students organized for serious work of some kind becomes merely a group in which to while away leisure time.

Large institutions like a state or a centrally organized church, because of their durability, are subject to those sudden and violent changes which we study in history as revolutions. They are, perhaps, the typical social mutations. They come unexpectedly, though arising out of a strained condition of society after a long period of continuous variation. Although there is always a radical leader at the front, the revolution seems afterward to have been inevitable. Such was the change from the Roman Republic to the Empire; also the Protestant Reformation, the English Revolution of 1688, the American Revolution, the French Revolution of 1789 and 1792, the Russian Revolution of 1917. Virtually in the same class, although not called a revolution, is the reorganization of the government of Germany during the decade, 1861–1871.

However solidified the group may become, one can never be sure that the current of events will not carry it upon some rock which will split it. Families are rent by quarrels, neighborhoods by feuds, churches by controversies; while larger unions, lacking personal acquaintance, are yet more unstable. . . .

A lasting sense of grievance in any worthy element respecting an established policy raises like a fester in the flesh the presumption that something is wrong. The useful classes do not go on rioting over nothing; so reliance upon bullets and bayonets as a means of restoring social peace is usually a confession of bankruptcy of statesmanship. . . . But ordinarily a persistent outcry is a symptom of maladjustment. Change has gone on unheeded until some law or institution has ceased to fit. Finer adjustment, greater elasticity, or special treatment is called for. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, pp. 350, 355, Ross, "Estrangement in Society."

9. *Government*

Here we reach the limit of conservatism. The persons who for a considerable period of time have composed the government of an institution resist change because their own interests are bound up with the existing order of things; their livelihood may depend on it, and some of them are too old to take up another vocation.

But a government, like any other form of social organization, must change when its personnel changes. The brevity of human life insures change, although it may be slow in coming. A particular government at a given time usually takes its character from a single person. When he dies or goes out of office, the new leader brings new policies. A definite term for officers is therefore favorable to change, especially when it is supplemented by "rotation in office," a dogma invented by the frontier politicians of a century ago.

Conflict has always been a fruitful cause of change. It puts a government to the supreme test of calling forth all the resources of the institution to accomplish a definite end. Ross distinguishes something like six different kinds of changes which war brings. The reorganization of Germany, just mentioned, was accompanied by three foreign wars. Nor are its effects restricted to the belligerent nations. The time when the United States changed most rapidly from agriculture to manufactures was during the embargo of 1808 by which we tried to punish the belligerents in Europe for their ill treatment of us.

". . . People may be too safe. You see we live at the end of a series of secure generations in which none of the great things of life have changed materially. We've grown up with no sense of . . . responsibility. None of us, none of us — for though I talk my actions belie me — really believe that life can change very fundamentally any more forever. All this" — Mr. Britling waved his arm comprehensively — "looks as though it was bound to go on steadily forever. . . . It seems incredible that the system could be smashed. It seems incredible that anything we can do will ever smash the system. . . . And it's just because we are

all convinced that we are so safe against a general breakdown that we are able to be so recklessly violent in our special cases. . . .

". . . We shall go on — until there is a spark right into the magazine. We have lost any belief we ever had that fundamental things happen. We are everlasting children in an everlasting nursery. . . ."

". . . Nothing changes in England, because the people who want to change things change their minds before they change anything else. . . ."

". . . Unless something tumbles down here, we never think of altering it," the young man remarked. "And even then we just shore it up."

Perhaps mankind tries too much to settle down. Perhaps these stirrings up have to occur to save us from our disposition to stuffy comfort. There's the magic call of the unknown experience, of dangers and hardships. One wants to go. But unless some push comes one does not go. There is a spell that keeps one to the lair and the old familiar ways. . . . — Wells, *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*, pp. 46, 47, 54, 199.

Contests between schools have done wonders in improving the work in athletics, oratory, and debating. Equally useful, doubtless, are the incidental and unintended results. When a delegation of picked students visit an institution similar to their own, they are alert to notice wherein it differs from their own and to pass judgment on the points of difference. Much of what they learn is promptly reported at home and listened to with keen interest.

The triangular debating league between schools is a simple social invention which has come into extensive use within the last few years. A secretary, chosen by one of the schools in rotation, is the only officer needed. He submits three questions to the other two schools, and the question preferred by any two is the subject of the debate for that season. Each school then prepares two teams, one on each side of the question. Three debates occur the same evening. Each affirmative team stays at home and each negative team goes to one of the other schools. The date of the debate and the rules governing it are covered by a permanent agreement.

For the past forty years the colleges of the central states have been organized to hold oratorical contests, state and national. Some of the states are organized for a series of contests between the high schools to select the best declaimer or reader. With the organization of boys' and girls' clubs in rural schools contests between schools became fre-

quent, being arranged first by townships or adjacent neighborhoods, then by counties, and in some cases finishing with a state contest. The activities most frequently contested in are spelling, corn-growing, and breadmaking.

But war, or even contest, is part of a larger concept. Emergency of any kind accomplishes much the same results. For a school it may be an epidemic, a fire, a fatal accident. Such an event compels the government to put forth unusual effort, and therefore new kinds of activity — new at least to most of the persons engaged in it.

After our building burned, and our equipment went with it, the ingenuity of teachers and pupils was put to the test. We were surprised to see how much we could do without books, maps, or blackboards.

10. *Democracy*

Democracy is a device for drawing out any originality that may be latent in the population; also to remove rulers who stand in the way of progress.

In many of our large municipalities . . . patrols are made up of twelve or fifteen older boys, chosen by their school principal, one being elected chief, and all having patrol badges. Just before school is dismissed, members of the patrol station themselves at given posts around the school building, and it is their duty to guide younger children safely over the dangerous crossings and to prevent the confusion in the streets that is always so disturbing to vehicular traffic whenever school is dismissed.

As the movement progresses, it is found that further interest is to be awakened in youthful pupils by asking them to report to the chief of their safety patrol any dangerous conditions they might come across in street or building. Bulletin boards have been supplied in the schools, and on these the information so obtained is carefully read by all. After two weeks a record is made and submitted to the supervisor of the local committee on public safety, who takes up the various complaints with the proper authority. — *The Evening Post* (N. Y.), June 20, 1914.

Decentralization is favorable to change. This is doubtless one reason why the federal form of government has grown in favor. A school system in which each locality, and each

teacher as well, is allowed a large degree of liberty, will be more progressive than a strongly centralized one, other things being equal. Local pride is stimulated, competition between groups is fostered; every worker does his best, especially in the things which he has helped to originate. Whatever variation a primary group matures has its chance to be put on trial.

But we must not forget the central authority. There must be a mechanism to keep up communication between the local units; there must be power to put into effect reforms which require coöperation. Decentralization has always existed in the United States, but centralization has had to grow. Education started with purely local organization. The departments of public instruction in city and state, and the Bureau of Education at Washington came into existence to exercise functions which were entirely beyond the power of school district, township, or county, and largely as a result of agitation by such innovating individuals as Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, acting through teachers' associations.

Topics

1. Look up definitions of tradition in dictionaries and sociologies.

2. Put on the blackboard an outline of Ross's discussion of contact and cross-fertilization of cultures; of the interaction of societies. *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 234–249.

3. Put on the blackboard an outline of Fairbanks' discussion of agglomeration. *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 240–249.

4. On the depopulation of the Roman Empire, see Botsford's *History of the Ancient World*, pp. 517, 518, and *Source-Book of Ancient History*, pp. 540, 541: also other histories of the later Empire.

5. Give an account of Mendel and put on the blackboard a diagram to illustrate the Mendelian principle of inheritance. Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 254–258; Chapin, *Social Evolution*, pp. 12–17; Castle, *Genetics and Eugenics*, pp. 88–97, 233–259, 281–321; encyclopedias, works on biology, heredity, and eugenics. The exhaustive treatise is by Bateson, *Mendel's Principles of Heredity*.

6. Report on the article, "The Stature of Man at Various Periods," Smithsonian Institution, *Report*, 1904, pp. 517–532.

7. Great men the cause of progress. Mallock, *Aristocracy and Evolution*, pp. 55–84; Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 275–290; Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, pp. 283–325.

8. Study the biography or autobiography of some innovating individual, and find out if possible how each of the factors and phases of variation discussed in this chapter appear in his life.

9. Do the same in the history of some country which you are studying. Ward, *Pure Sociology*, p. 225.

10. Why is a frontier fruitful of variations? Bullock, *Readings in Economics*, pp. 32–59, Turner.

11. Trace some feature of this school back to its origin. Interview the persons who know the most about it.

Problems

1. Does the great reformer come from the desert or the city? Does the original philosopher, scientist, artist, inventor, do his work in solitude, or in close contact with others in factory or university? How is it with the most original students and teachers in this school?

2. Have the changes in education usually been initiated by the teachers or forced upon them from without?

3. "Education has commonly held the position of a brake to social progress." Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, first edition, p. 74. Is this true?

4. Give an example of a club which was organized for one purpose but in time came to exist for a very different purpose.

5. Does this generalization apply to institutions?

In organic evolution the sort of development that may take place is often largely a matter of what has already taken place; in a sense the selection between variations is based upon the body of characters already assembled by the antecedent process. Certain lines of development are virtually shut off by reason of the direction along which the organism in question has evolved. The horse cannot now develop variations on the basis of five digits. . . . — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, pp. 90, 91.

References

Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, pp. 139–162.

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 23, pp. 117–120, Hayes, "The Horrors of Respectability"; pp. 350–358, Ross, "Estrangement in Society"; Vol. 24, pp. 566–580, Smith, "The Rôle of Social Heredity in Education."

Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, pp. 134–136.

* Baldwin, *Social and Ethical Interpretations*, Chapter II.

Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 51–66, 324–328.

Castle, *Genetics and Eugenics*, pp. 28–46.

Conklin, *Heredity and Environment*, pp. 191–297.

Conn, *Social Heredity and Social Evolution*, pp. 1–43.

Davenport, *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics*, especially pp. 6–21, 27–65; pp. 204–220, immigrants; 225–251, individuals and families.

Educational Review, Vol. 50, pp. 279–307, Newbold, "The Spell of Aristotle."

* Ellwood, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, pp. 125–169.

Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, pp. 166–195.

* Fairbanks, *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 232–249.

Forum, Vol. 9, pp. 169–186, Cobbe, "Secular Changes in Human Nature."

Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, especially pp. 1–43, edition of 1892.

Giddings, *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*, pp. 77–96, 106–123.

Giddings, *Elements of Sociology*, pp. 290–293.

Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, pp. 13–36.

Gumplowicz, *Sociology*, pp. 84–86, 110–127.

Guyer, *Being Well-Born*, pp. 1–158, including two chapters on Mendelism, pp. 67–120.

Harris, *Inequality and Progress*, especially pp. 74–89.

Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 383–397, 411–417, 482–485.

Herbert, *First Principles of Heredity*, pp. 69–77, mixing of parental qualities; 93–107, inheritance of acquired characters; 120–141, Mendelism; 167–171, law of ancestral inheritance.

Humphrey, *Mankind*, pp. 10–30.

Jewett, *The Next Generation*, pp. 1–25.

Jordan and Kellogg, *Evolution and Animal Life*, pp. 131–210.

* Keller, *Societal Evolution*, pp. 43–52, 208–246.

* Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society*, pp. 191–275, two chapters.

Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education:* "Acquired Characteristics"; "Evolution"; "Experiment in Education"; "Ferrer," education and progress; "French Influence in American Education"; "German Influence on American Education"; "Heredity"; "High School, Change in Meaning of 'High'"; "Kindergarten"; "Lancaster"; "Lyon, Mary"; "Mann, Horace"; "Pestalozzi."

Nearing, *Social Adjustment*, pp. 12–27, "The Theory of Universal Human Capacity."

Parker, *Biology and Social Problems*, pp. 85–97.

Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, pp. 21–29.

Popenoe and Johnson, *Applied Eugenics*, Chapters I–VI.

Popular Science Monthly, Vol. 82, pp. 445–452; Woods, "Heredity and the Hall of Fame."

* Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 197–255.

Ross, *Social Psychology*, pp. 355–365.

Sayce, *Introduction to the Science of Language*, pp. 163–219, change in language.

School and Society, Vol. 3, pp. 304–308, 433–452, papers and addresses on education and progress.

Small, *General Sociology*, pp. 189–195.

Thomson, *Heredity*, pp. 1–25, 66–88; 164–249, "Transmission of Acquired Characteristics"; 336–380, Mendelism; 506–538, "Social Aspects."

Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, pp. 309–324.

Ward, *Pure Sociology*, pp. 202–218.

CHAPTER XIII

NATURAL SELECTION

. . . I have come to believe that any fruitful study of the science of society must rest upon a clear understanding, even though it be but a layman's, of the Darwinian theory. — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, p. vi.

When new forms of life or society come into existence, another question must be answered before we can say whether or not they spell progress; we must know how selection is made of the variations which are to be preserved and of those which are to be rejected. Mere change is not necessarily progress.

The Principle

Natural selection is a biological term, the application of which has extended to all branches of knowledge. It is essentially very simple. It means merely that nature herself does the selecting. The constitution of the world determines what variations shall be preserved and what eliminated. In practical affairs the principle has long been followed, as is shown by such phrases as these: "cut and try," "trial and error," "let us see how it works," "let the results tell," "nothing succeeds like success." In business and the science of economics it is known as competition.

Natural selection as a definitely formulated principle began with Charles Darwin. He worked on it for twenty years in trying to explain the origin of species. At last a young naturalist, named Wallace, hit upon the same idea and wrote it out while confined to his room by illness. He had heard of Darwin's interest in species and so sent his paper to Darwin

for criticism. Darwin behaved magnanimously toward his young rival. He put together some of his own statements which were already in writing so as to make a paper about equal in length to that of Wallace, and then had the two papers read at a meeting of a scientific society. That was in 1858. The next year Darwin published the *Origin of Species*, and the new theory was given to the world.

Natural selection, taken in connection with variation, constitutes what is usually known as evolution. Its discovery has amounted to a revolution — a mutation in human thought. Let us first see the meaning of the term as illustrated in biology. There are three necessary parts to the principle. First, there must be excessive multiplication so that the number of organisms in existence is greater than can find means of subsistence. With animals and plants this of course results from the high rates at which they are able to multiply. Then follows a struggle between these individuals for the means by which they can exist. Finally, those which are least capable perish, and the most capable survive to reproduce their kind and fill the available space.

Application to the Factors of Society

Population

In sociology we see this principle most clearly applied to population. Man is an animal, and must have space and light and food, and the wherewithal to support and rear his young, like any beast of the forest. He must withstand climate, diseases, or anything else that tends to injure him. Among enlightened peoples it is the social conditions rather than the natural that keep down population. Vicious living destroys more people than pestilence. Celibacy, late marriages, and few or no offspring to a marriage are factors that reduce the number of children more than all the infants' diseases together. Here is a table showing the percentage

of annual change in the population of five countries, based on figures gathered during the middle of the nineteenth century.

	Births	Deaths	Increase Per Cent	Years to Double
Galicia	4.46	3.71	.75	100
Germany	3.91	2.68	1.23	56
France	2.54	2.24	.3	250
Great Britain . .	3.54	2.14	1.4	48
Norway	3.1	1.7	1.4	48

— Adapted from Wagner, *Politische Oekonomie*, I, ii, pp. 505–509.

Since these figures were gathered the birth rate has fallen still lower in France without a corresponding fall in the death rate; in the year 1911 there were fewer births than deaths. French statesmen viewed this with alarm because it meant fewer soldiers. Recently there has also been a fall in the birth rate in England and Germany. In French Canada, on the other hand, the population continues to double every twenty-five years, as it did in the English colonies in America before the Revolution.[1]

In 1890 the Government of the Province of Quebec passed a law granting a piece of land to every head of a family that could boast of twelve or more children. This grant was later changed to a cash premium. Until 1905 a total of 5,414 families received the premium. Of this number 150 families had 14 to 18 children; in some cases where one or the other of the parents was married twice, the number of living children ranged from 18 to 27 children. Since the foundation of Quebec in 1608 there have been entered upon the parish registers, up to 1883, a total of 2,900,000 births, or 67.25 per one thousand population. French-Canadian families of eight and ten children are not uncommon. The average size of a family is five children. . . . — *Extension*, July, 1912.

[1] These statements refer to developments before 1914.

Human Nature

But population is never a homogeneous mass of people. The different race elements or family stocks reproduce in different proportions. Those that increase more rapidly will in time displace those that increase slowly. In this way the Polish race was displacing the German in eastern Prussia. The statistics of several countries show that the Catholic portion of the population has a higher birth rate than the Protestant. The Teutonic element in France and Germany, or, to speak technically and more accurately, the long-headed blonds, the people of the Baltic or Nordic race, do not hold their own with the other race elements; they turn Protestant or free-thinking, get killed off in the wars and revolutions, go to the cities where the birth rate is always lower, and migrate to other countries. The broad-headed Alpines, on the other hand, stick to their farms, remain Catholics, and more often raise large families. In regard to this country, we find that in the cities of New England less than ten per cent of the population of native parentage consists of children under five years of age, while among the population of foreign and mixed parentage the children under five years compose eighteen per cent. Statistics of the graduates of Harvard College show that the average number of children born to each is considerably less than two, which means that their stock is a disappearing element in the population. "I have no wife and don't want any; I have no children and don't want any," was in the questionnaire returned by one of them to his class secretary. Biologically speaking, they belong to the "unfit," however high they may rise professionally or financially.

The democratic movement has been a factor in reducing the fecundity of the capable stocks. The youth may see the possibility of a great career open before him, with the result that he does not want to be tied down by a family, and especially by a large family. Improved facilities for communi-

cation, which are both cause and effect of democracy, help to make people too busy to rear children. The daily paper, telephone, automobile, railroad, trolley, excursion boats, mail coming one or more times a day, and moving picture theaters give ordinary middle-class folk as many different things to attend to in a day as formerly came to a king or the head of an army. With these facilities we may do wonders in producing wealth, banishing ignorance and poverty, advancing science, raising our standards in art, suppressing disease, or anything else that seems to us worth while; but if these achievements seem to us more worth while than having children and bringing them up in sufficient number to maintain the population, then we are biologically unfit and our race is on the way to extinction.

. . . Tidal waves of imitation carry the craving for luxuries hitherto looked upon as the prerogative of the rich among millions of people of limited means, and these, in their selfish haste to gratify their new wants, learn to economize in offspring. Here the decencies, there the comforts, yonder the vanities of life compete with the possible child and bar it from existence. — Ross, *Changing America*. p. 40.

This replacement of one race by another involves a change in human nature, for the new population is likely to have a different natural endowment from the old. Herein perhaps is one reason why there occurs in the history of nations an occasional short period of brilliant achievement followed by ages of barrenness. At some "tide in the affairs of men" opportunities come surging in upon the people in such profusion that all of the capable individuals have their interests drawn away from family life so that they do not reproduce themselves. The brilliant achievements can continue for only a few generations at the most, because the race that produces them comes to an end; a victory is won, but the army that wins it is destroyed.

Eye color is of very great importance in race determination, because all blue, gray or green eyes in the world to-day came originally from

the same source, namely, the Nordic race of northern Europe. This light colored eye has appeared nowhere else on earth, and is a specialization of this subspecies of man only. . . .

The Hindu to-day speaks a very ancient form of Aryan language, but there remains not one recognizable trace of the blood of the white conquerors who poured in through the passes of the Northwest. . . . The dim and uncertain traces of Nordic blood in northern India only serve to emphasize the utter swamping of the white man in the burning South.

. . . . . .

It would appear that in all those parts of Europe outside of its natural habitat, the Nordic blood is on the wane from England to Italy, and that the ancient, acclimated and primitive populations of Alpine and Mediterranean race are subtly reasserting their long lost political power through a high breeding rate and democratic institutions.

. . . Heavy, healthful work in the fields of northern Europe enables the Nordic type to thrive, but the cramped factory and crowded city quickly weed him out, while the little brunet Mediterranean can work a spindle, set type, sell ribbons, or push a clerk's pen far better than the big, clumsy and somewhat heavy Nordic blond, who needs exercise, meat, and air, and cannot live under Ghetto conditions.

. . . . . .

Such are the three races, the Alpine, Mediterranean, and Nordic, which enter into the composition of European populations of to-day, and in various combinations comprise the great bulk of white men all over the world. These races vary intellectually and morally just as they do physically. . . .

The Alpine race is always and everywhere a race of peasants, an agricultural and never a maritime race. In fact, they only extend to salt water at the head of the Adriatic. . . .

The coastal and seafaring populations of northern Europe are everywhere Nordic as far as the shores of Spain. . . .

The Nordics are, all over the world, a race of soldiers, sailors, adventurers, and explorers, but above all, of rulers, organizers, and aristocrats in sharp contrast to the essentially peasant and democratic character of the Alpines. . . .

The mental characteristics of the Mediterranean race are well known, and this race, while inferior in bodily stamina to both the Nordic and the Alpine, is probably the superior of both, certainly of the Alpines, in intellectual attainments. In the field of art its superiority to both the other European races is unquestioned. — Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, Revised Edition, pp. 24, 70, 190, 209, 226–228.

We teachers see one hope-giving fact. The children of foreign parentage, even of non-Teutonic stock, adopt the culture of our country; some of them compete on even terms with the native stock. This means that immigration is bringing to us fresh race stocks from which the talented blood has not yet been drained; the enlightenment which has been here matured by one stock is being handed over to another. Can they carry it without committing race suicide? Or is enlightenment a poison which destroys every race that it touches? We must hope that a type of social organization will arise in which wholesome family life will not be inconsistent with progress; or perhaps there will arise a nation — Russian, Jewish, Japanese, or some other — which has the family instincts so well balanced that it can rear children and be enlightened at the same time!

It will next be useful to see how natural selection applies to the other two elements of society, namely, location and communication.

Location

A piece of land has its use determined for it by natural selection. It is put to the purposes which the people occupying it for the time being have found by experience to be most advantageous. Take any farm or city lot for example. Only a minute study of local history would give any idea of the varied uses to which it has been put in time past. There were doubtless many failures, and some uses were profitable for a time which later became unprofitable. Different locations compete with one another; sites for harbors, water powers, manufacturing, trade, residence. A region that surpasses every other in producing a desirable kind of fruit uses its advantage to the full, regardless of the effect on competing regions; the owners are almost as free from compunction about the matter as is a tree that overtops another tree in such a way as to deprive it of sunlight.

. . . The struggle for existence is a process in which the individual and nature are the parties. . . . — Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 16.

Social activity follows the line of least resistance. Population is relatively dense in warm climates. Colonization follows coast lines and river valleys. Expanding states respect the territory of strong rivals and encroach upon the domain of the weak. — Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 369.

Communication

Between various forms of communication the struggle for existence is as acute as it ever is between the wild animals and trees in the wilderness. When a message has once been delivered there is rarely any use in delivering it again. Whether the prime requisite be quickness, cheapness, accuracy, or any other quality, the form that serves the purpose best puts all the others out of business for that purpose, though of course the others may still be the best for other purposes. Wherever the railroad comes the stagecoach disappears; for some purposes the trolley has displaced the locomotive. A system of communication becomes better the larger it grows, other things being equal, and it has the advantage of what the economist calls the law of increasing returns. So the big railroads, telephone lines, newspapers, publishing houses, schools, absorb the little ones. Here and there, however, the small ones succeed because for some reason they are still the "fittest."

Application to Social Organization

Here we need to keep in mind two ways in which natural selection works. When a certain form of organization exists in a given group, the group may abandon it and adopt another in its place, or the group itself may come to an end; in either case the form of organization disappears. A type of school government may come to an end because the school using it loses support and goes out of existence, or because the school

changes its form of government. The continued existence of any group whatsoever depends upon its adoption of those forms of organization which lead to success and the timely abandonment of those which lead to failure. The continuance of any idea or institution depends on its helping its supporters in their struggle for existence.

Congenial Groups

These are natural growths. If the first interview between two persons is agreeable, they both look for an opportunity to repeat it; if it is disagreeable, they avoid repeating it, provided there are other more congenial companions accessible at the time when companionship is desired. A specially attractive person may find many groups competing for his presence, in which case his inclinations naturally lead him to the one or two which most satisfy his needs; he keeps himself out of the others, not necessarily because he hates them, but because there is not enough of himself to go around. A strong group lasts until something happens to break it up; some hindrance arises to meeting, a member moves away or finds another group more attractive, or a careless remark is made that gives offense. The friendship mentioned below was only the most congenial acquaintance out of the large number which the young lady who reported it engaged in:

> Accidentally meeting a girl at a house-party four years ago, I found in her a friend whom I think more of than any one else outside of my family. I did not plan to meet her or to cultivate her acquaintance. Our friendship simply grew until it means much to both of us.

Social Mind

In the social mind impression crowds upon impression so rapidly that only an occasional one holds popular attention for any length of time, and still fewer leave permanent results that can be identified. If a group of children start a game

which they find interesting, other groups will soon be formed to play the same game, and so the game will spread from group to group. On the other hand, a new game which proves a failure will not be followed by other groups, and will soon be dropped even in the group which started it. Editors of newspapers learn by experience what kinds of stories, anecdotes, and reports of daily occurrences please the public taste; this experience becomes formulated in their minds as a principle. The editors do not make this principle; it is put into the social mind of their class by natural selection. The editor who defies it is likely to be eliminated himself. During the early months of 1914 the troubles in Mexico were the foremost topic of conversation throughout the United States and occupied columns of space in every newspaper. Important things continued to happen there throughout the year, but in July the troubles in Europe put Mexican affairs into the background, so that the entry of Carranza into the City of Mexico, August 21, marking the triumph of the Constitutionalist cause, was reported in a sixteen page newspaper in four inches of space.

Natural selection also applies to those elusive forms of the social mind which are called "ideals" or "standards of morality." And here, too, both of those methods of selection and elimination are at work. The wrong ideal in teaching is eliminated because the teachers holding it fail to succeed and are forced out of the profession. It is also eliminated by some individuals who see their mistake and adopt a different ideal. The teacher with the right ideal, and other qualifications as well, remains in the work for life. In such cases inductive study will reveal the right ideal as distinguished from the wrong one.

. . . If a thing has been done and is established by force (that is, no force can reverse it), it is right in the only sense we know, and rights will follow from it which are not vitiated at all by the force in it. . . . — Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 65.

. . . That which conduces to success in the struggle for existence, and so is selected for perpetuation, turns out to be justifiable by reasoning subsequently applied. . . . The "rational" is often no more than a subterfuge under cover of which the ancient "instinct" or "second nature" gets its way — on the principle that the chief use of the human mind is to find reasons, or subsequent justification, for doing what its possessor wants to do. . . . — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, pp. 94, 95.

In my practice class last quarter, being inexperienced, I did not have a very definite idea how to conduct a recitation. The first week I asked questions out of the book. That was not very successful. Then I tried the topical recitation. The children did not get hold of this very well. I then tried telling the story to them one day and having them tell it to me the next, but this was too easy. Finally I asked thought questions. This method brought the best results and I continued it the rest of the quarter.

I knew a boy who was the terror of the neighborhood when he was a small child. He had no consideration whatever for the feelings of other people. When he began to go to school he tried to domineer over the teacher and his playmates. But it was not long before a change took place in him. The rebuffs which he received for his conduct took the domineering spirit out of him.

A bright, witty girl, something of a butterfly in manners, went to teach in M. The school was a difficult one. She started out unsuccessfully and thought of giving up. But she held on, and I knew by her letters that she was changing. In two years she came back a different person. She had acquired dignity and poise, which her friends had thought she never could get. She had developed the habit of reading current history and good books so that she could interest her pupils in them. Her environment had made a natural selection of those qualities in her which it needed, and had eliminated the disadvantageous ones.

Social Classes

Classes grow inevitably out of conditions, often undesired by statesmen, usually unperceived by them at the beginning. Each individual, in following his own inclinations or trying to make the most of himself, assisted by his education and inherited property, takes a place in the social organization. Whether he rises to a higher class or sinks to a lower, depends

chiefly on his own character, though circumstances beyond his own control may help or hinder. The farmer without education, and without sons to go away for it and bring it home, is at a disadvantage which only exceptional ability can overcome, because farming is now a complicated business requiring much technical knowledge which can best be learned in school. There is always the cleavage between the prosperous and the unprosperous classes which runs across all of the occupational classes and begins the separation between the rich and the poor. Yet no one plans it or wishes it; it comes by natural selection. The members of an upper caste, once it is established, are more or less shielded from competition with the rest of the population; but all open classes are recruited by means of it, the occupational classes most of all, especially in a country where vocational education is provided free at public expense.

There are several ways in which an occupational class is competitive. (*a*) In the first place each person chooses his occupation, which means that various occupations compete for the favor of the young person whose career is before him. (*b*) Once in the occupation the person competes with others doing like work. This phase never entirely passes away, though it is most in evidence near the beginning. (*c*) Finally, the class as a whole must compete with other classes for public favor and patronage. This is the phase which brings the competing individuals into coöperation and develops a class consciousness.

When one occupation is compared with another they show differences in the prominence of these three phases. Public school teachers make the third phase very prominent, the first fairly so, while the second is rarely mentioned among them, though of course it is there all the time. Teachers in private schools, on the other hand, probably make the second most prominent, the third much less so, while the first is sometimes non-existent. In proportion as the heredi-

tary principle enters, the first phase of competition disappears, while the second and third continue to vary inversely to each other according to the scale on which the work is organized.

A boy interested in baseball tried to start a team. He told a group of boys about it and invited them to his house. But he was not popular and few came. Nothing more was done that summer. The next summer another boy started it. On a Sunday the group met for a game and elected a captain. Having thus tried out the leaders they next tried out the members for the various positions on the team. An enthusiastic season of ball-playing followed.

"Survival often depends not on wisdom and goodness but on ruthless force." I have a high school in mind in which the older boys ruled; the school was going to ruin in spite of its lovable and sympathetic teachers and principal. One year a new principal came who was tall and square shouldered, but stern and unsympathetic. The first day he thrashed three of the larger boys and pulled another's ear. After that there was no more trouble.

A superintendent was removed because his discipline was poor, though the teachers favored him. The next one tried to please all parties, and the discipline was poorer still. The next one looked like a retired pugilist, and acted like one. He used corporal punishment even in the high school. He was removed after a year. The board then consulted the authorities at the University and hired a quiet young man. He came a week before school opened and asked all high school pupils whose records were low to come for a conference. He made few reforms the first year, but the schools improved, and the next year he made more. The third year he was well established, and remained for several years more. When he resigned the next man carried on his policy.

I have in mind a man who tried to teach after finishing college. He made a complete failure. He then tried to run an employment agency. He failed in this. He tried a number of other things only to fail in all. At last he went to an agricultural college in a western state. When he finished this be became editor of an agricultural paper and made good.

I know of another man who finished college, and tried to teach and failed. Then he went back to his father's farm and is now a successful farmer.

A girl finished college, tried teaching three different times and failed. Then she took a business course and went into an office. She did well there. Then she went into the office of a large real estate agency in Canada. She did so well there that she was sent to England on business for the firm.

Institutions

It is with institutions, the firmest part of the social organization, that natural selection does its great work; the members of the ruling class are mostly blind to their own faults, and only failure can open their eyes. We have already noted repeatedly that institutions change. A group of persons composing an institution will grow larger and larger if the institution is a success. They will drop away one by one and there will be few accessions if it is not a success. The successful institution is imitated by others, the unsuccessful one has no imitators.

The institution that runs too far against some instinct of human nature, or against some force in nature, or that does not satisfy some human need better than other institutions, loses its vitality; its membership does not keep up; funds do not come to it; the members it has do not support it loyally; it is unable to bring things to pass. It is unfit and nature is killing it off. The fit institution is just the opposite in all these respects. "Man proposes and God disposes," is the old proverb expressing the same idea. That form of government which proves effective in state, business, church, or school spreads from group to group throughout the world. Government by representatives of the people began in England seven hundred years ago. It made England a stronger and better country. For centuries few other countries followed its example, the English colonies in America being the most conspicuous. France went through the throes of a revolution to establish it. During the nineteenth century it spread throughout western Europe. The twentieth century has seen its extension into eastern Europe and Asia.

A railroad was built through my town recently. Later some wealthy men from Chicago visited the town and noted that the surrounding country was good for dairying. They built a large milk condensery and began paying high prices for milk. Superintendents and overseers came to the town with their families. They began agitating the building of a high school. Up to this time there had been only a parochial school and a little country school. Within a year there was a new building and new teachers were secured for all the grades, for now they had intelligent men on the board whereas formerly they had men who could barely write their names. The parents began sending their children to high school and allowing them to finish the course. The interest in education spread to the country. Now if you were to go there you would see the farmers taking their milk to the condensery and then their children to the high school.

In a town on Lake P. there are several churches. Two churches gave Christmas programs. One church had the larger attendance, and along with it a much better program. The next year the other church did not give a program.

. . . Thus is social genesis secured through individual telesis. . . . The initiative is almost exclusively individual and the ends sought are egocentric in the widest sense. . . . The social consequences . . . are unintended, and social evolution, however large the telic factor in it may be, is to all intents and purposes unconscious. In fact, so far as the phrase "social evolution" is concerned, I would restrict it wholly to this aspect, and would exclude from it any and all effects that can be shown to have been consciously produced. . . . — Ward, *Pure Sociology*, p. 545.

. . . Schiller says, "The world's history is the world's verdict." It is a true saying, but it must not be interpreted in too crudely material a fashion. . . . The life of nations is counted by centuries, and judgment can only be pronounced when some definite stage in their history is relatively concluded. . . . If it had been said of the Italians in 1858, or in 1868 of the Germans, that they had got what they deserved, it would have been proved false at once. . . . — Treitschke, *Politics*, Vol. I, p. 11.

Government

But strife always involves waste. Looking at a football game, one thinks how much constructive work might be accomplished with the energy there expended. Read a few

pages of the *Congressional Record* and estimate the time wasted in apparently fruitless wrangling. There have always been persons who hope for the cessation of struggle. They hope to see war abolished as a relic of barbarism, and strikes abolished as industrial war. The socialists would suppress competition for private gain. There is much preaching of universal brotherhood and love. Peace is so commonly held before us as an ideal that we almost forget what it means. It means the sway of a single all-powerful, all-pervading government which can suppress strife.

> And he will judge between the nations, and will decide concerning many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.
>
> And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the adder's den. They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain. — *Bible*, "Isaiah," II, 4; XI, 6–9.

But it is impossible to conceive of an all-pervading government. Such hopes sometimes result in changing the form of the struggle; they never suppress it. Struggle of some kind always goes on, and with pretty much the same intensity. The matter-of-fact spectator who laments the waste of energy at the football game probably forgets the hazing which formerly so largely characterized student life. The settlement of international disputes without war is only a transfer of the struggle to the realm of diplomacy or industry. If the socialists should capture every government on earth and put their plan in operation, it would only substitute for business competition as we know it the competition of persons for places in the state system of industry, or strife between political parties for the control of that system.

Natural selection is nature's way of securing efficiency, and nature will not be thwarted. Nature knows no *nirvana*, no *dolce far niente*. The summons to combat comes, perhaps, when I should prefer to rest or do something else. I must answer and have all my powers up to standard, or else I must step down and out that others may take my place. If the institutions I love do not thus hold me up to my duty, I may see them overwhelmed with ignominy, and I shall go down with them. The institution that has everything so benevolently organized within that there is no struggle — no rivalry, no strife for place, no turning down of this project and acceptance of that — has already begun to decline.

It is internal weakness that most often limits or destroys. Democracy will grow as far as it shows itself capable. Kaiser and Czar together could not keep down democracy in Russia, but the Bolsheviki, working on the inside, could wreck it. The limit to the control of labor organizations over industry and of student self-government over schools is set by the capacity, integrity, and public spirit of the leaders whom the democratic method puts forward, rather than by the self-interest of capitalists or faculties.

"Life had a wrangling birth. On the head of every one of us rests the ancestral curse of fifty million murders."

. . . Has hate been necessary, and is it still necessary, and will it always be necessary? Is all life a war forever? . . . — Wells, *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*, p. 290.

. . . Ethical philosophers, removed from contact with the facts of life, have evolved, as inferences, a set of ideals and dogmas about human relations which they have succeeded in putting into the minds of the emotional and susceptible. These arbiters of ethics and their following raise horrified outcries at the imposition of the death penalty, at the public lashing of a wife-beater, at the insistence upon an adequate discipline in schools. They make the home a hothouse instead of a toughening training school for life, turning loose upon society undisciplined products prone to disregard the rights of their fellows in society as they have overridden under indulgence the rights of their fellows in the home. Sentimentalists, warm of heart, but soft of head, petition

complaisant executives to let loose upon society the wolves that have been trapped and should have been eliminated once for all; to set the scotched snakes free again. The pseudo-heroic and pathetic aspects of the life of a black-hearted criminal are rehearsed until he seems to be a martyr and the just judge who condemns him a persecutor and a brute. All of which is done by volatile spirits under the illusion that they are thereby conserving the delicacy of the "ethical sense," or what not, instead of proving recreant to plain duties as members and supporters of civilized society. — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, pp. 69, 70.

Topics

1. The principle of natural selection as stated by its discoverer. Darwin, *Origin of Species*, Chapters III and IV.

2. Darwin's life and influence. Poulton, *Darwin and His Theory*, pp. 42–167; Huxley, *Life and Letters*, Vol. I, pp. 178–204.

3. Anticipations of Darwinism. Locy, *Biology and Its Makers*, pp. 345–433; Osborn, *From the Greeks to Darwin;* Spencer, *Essays*, Vol. I, pp. 1–7.

4. Malthusianism. Giddings, *Elements of Sociology*, pp. 304–307; Bullock, *Readings in Economics*, pp. 275–286, Malthus; Malthus, *Essay, on Population*. See articles about Malthus.

5. Sexual selection. Carver, *Sociology and Social Progress*, pp. 276–391, Darwin; *ibid.*, pp. 674, 675, Ward; Ward, *Pure Sociology*, pp. 323–332, 460–464.

6. Compare the native born population with the foreign born and the colored races as to the proportion between the number of children and the number of women. Census.

7. What writers have most developed the view that society is an arena of conflict? Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 272–290.

8. Give Cooley's thought about the persistence of struggle. *Social Organization*, pp. 199–201, 239, 240. Compare, Ellis, *Task of Social Hygiene*, pp. 311–348.

9. Give an example of some school organization which was unable to survive. Analyze the conditions which made it unfit.

10. The prospect for America. Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 386–395; Ross, *The Old World in the New*, pp. 282–304.

Problems

1. Give examples of natural selection in personal development: food, clothing, recreations, friendships, etc.

2. In the development of a teacher's methods.

3. In the development of the industries carried on in some locality.

4. From cases you have known illustrate natural selection as applied to the choosing of a vocation. What becomes of the unfit person?

5. Does free public education promote or hinder natural selection? How does the vocationalizing of education affect this question?

6. It is often said that there are too many organizations in a school, too many outside activities that appeal to the student, too many women's clubs in the town, too many books and papers, too many fads. From the standpoint of natural selection what would the outlook be if there were not too many? What is the remedy?

7. Is it true, as Sumner says, that "nothing but might has ever made right"? See *Folkways*, pp. 64–66. Is it "right" to be thoughtful of others? See Jordan and Kellogg, *Evolution and Animal Life*, pp. 380–397.

References

American Journal of Sociology: Vol. 5, pp. 761–777, Ross, "The Genesis of Ethical Elements"; Vol. 8, pp. 289–335, Warming, survival of the Danes against Prussian repression in North Sleswic; *ibid.*, pp. 398–411, Elkin, decrease of the Hawaiian people; Vol. 12, pp. 695–716, Wells, "Social Darwinism"; Vol. 13, pp. 289–299, Ward, "Social and Biological Struggles"; *ibid.*, pp. 402–409, Davenport, "Hereditary Crime"; *ibid.*, pp. 628–648, Carver, "The Basis of Social Conflicts"; *ibid.*, 649–660, Keasby, competition; Vol. 14, pp. 352–370, Collier, "Natural Selection in Sociology"; Vol. 20, pp. 504–531, Schmoller, class conflicts; Vol. 22, pp. 306–311, Ross, growth of language by natural selection.

American Sociological Society, *Publications*, Vol. 1, pp. 117–138, Wells; Vol. 2, especially pp. 33–44, Keasby, and 166–192, Giddings; Vol. 5, pp. 241–256, Vincent, "Rivalry of Social Groups."

Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, pp. 41–80.

Castle, *Genetics and Eugenics*, pp. 7–17.

Conklin, *Heredity and Environment*, pp. 352–363.

Conn, *Social Heredity and Social Evolution*, pp. 223–278, two chapters.

Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, pp. 27–50.

Fairbanks, *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 250–293.

Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, pp. 325–348, edition of 1892.

Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, Revised Edition, pp. 46–55, 179–212.

Guyer, *Being Well-Born*, pp. 228–288, multiplication of defectives.

Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 485–489, 648–651; 541–550, evolution of morality.

Humphrey, *Mankind*, pp. 31–77.

Jewett, ***The Next Generation***, pp. 26–71.

Jordan and Kellogg, *Evolution and Animal Life*, pp. 57–79; 426–450, instincts.

* Keller, ***Societal Evolution***, pp. 53–89; 164–207, counter selection; 250–305, adaptation.

* Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society*, pp. 149–190, 331–352.

Nearing, *Woman and Social Progress*, pp. 147–170.

Parker, *Biology and Social Problems*, pp. 98–125.

Popenoe and Johnson, *Applied Eugenics*, Chapters VI and IX.

Ross, *Changing America*, pp. 32–48, 137–162.

Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 327–385.

Small, *General Sociology*, pp. 183–394.

Spencer, *Essays*, Vol. I, pp. 1–7, "The Development Hypothesis." This essay, published in 1852, contains the germ of Spencer's later writings. It is interesting as a statement of the theory of evolution before any of Darwin's work on that subject had been published.

Sumner, *Folkways*, especially pp. 31–77.

Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, pp. 239–256.

CHAPTER XIV

TELIC SELECTION

Telic progress, as the name implies, depends altogether upon that faculty of the mind which enables man to pursue ends which it foresees and judges to be advantageous. . . .

On any "social organism" theory government must be regarded as the *brain* or organ of consciousness of society, and the small amount of "brains" shown by government is simply in confirmation of the conclusion . . . that society represents an organism of low degree. . . .

. . . Only when spurred on by the most intense egoistic impulses have nations exhibited any marked indications of the telic power. This has developed in proportion to the extent to which the national will has coincided with the will of some influential individual. Great generals in war, inspired by personal ambition, have often expressed the social will of their own country by brilliant feats of strategy and generalship, and famous statesmen like Richelieu have represented a whole nation by strokes of diplomacy that called out the same class of talents in a high degree. Even monarchs like Peter the Great, Frederick the Great, and Charles XII, not to mention Cæsar and Alexander, have made their own genius in a sense the genius of their country. . . .

The examples given . . . are merely instances of the usurpation of the powers of society by individual members. On the other hand, the tendencies in the direction of democratic government do mark progress in social integration, however feeble may be the telic power displayed. . . .
— Ward, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 237, 268, 269, 276, 279.

The general will is like the giant forces of nature. It is diffused and intangible, elusive and hidden. It lets men play with it, and seemingly defy it; but when they have defied too far, it kills like the lightning and wrecks like the tempest.

. . . Through ages of slow progress the general will has created social order. It will maintain civilization; it will broaden opportunity; it will establish justice. Not many men will understand it, but every man will heed it. Every man will learn to work with it and through it

for the achievement of general human ends, or he will be broken and thrown to the scrap heap by it. — *The Independent*, Vol. 74, p. 124, editorial.

NATURAL selection comes through nature's laws; telic selection comes only through conscious choice. Natural selection goes on all the time whether or not there be any public will or social organization of any kind. The difference between natural selection and telic selection will become evident if we compare them with respect to three qualities: directness, economy, and extent of progress made. (*a*) Natural selection wanders in every possible direction, like the channel of the Mississippi River; telic selection goes directly to a goal, like the channel of a canal. (*b*) Natural selection, therefore, is wasteful; it produces a million seeds that one may have a chance to grow. Telic selection, on the other hand, is economical; if it is to plant a field, it brings as much seed as is necessary, and very little more. (*c*) Natural selection selects according to fitness to survive in the natural environment; a high development in any one quality is not likely to be attained because of the many conditions in the environment which have to be met; hogs that run wild must be slab-sided and long-legged in order that they may escape enemies. Telic selection attains a high degree of perfection by making an artificial environment which is favorable to it.

But social telesis does more than select from the varieties of organization which happen to be at hand; it invents new ones to meet its needs, just as the breeder of plants by artificial pollination develops varieties of plants which would never have come into existence by chance variation. This chapter, therefore, should be contrasted with the two preceding, and not alone with the last. Telic progress is to be distinguished from progress by evolution.

So far there is not the slightest evidence to warrant the belief in continuous, automatic, inevitable progress; still less the belief that it is a

blessing conferred by some mysterious Power from without. Progress is rare, evolution and change universal . . . Balfour says, and rightly, progressive civilization "is no form of indestructible energy which, if repressed here must needs break out there, if refused embodiment in one shape must needs show itself in another. It is a plant of tender habit, difficult to propagate, not difficult to destroy, that refuses to flourish except in a soil which is not to be found everywhere nor at all times, nor even, so far as we can see, necessarily to be found at all."

. . . Science, philosophy, history and common sense unite in testifying that progress is not a free gift of the gods but something to be earned by clear vision and hard work; that is, a human contingency based upon human effort, foresight, and constructive utilization of human powers. — Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, pp. 103–105.

Population and Vital Conservation

The population of a locality is brought together almost entirely by natural selection. It is by individual telesis rather than social telesis. A small institution, such as an industrial establishment or a school, selects its population to some extent; it advertises for the kind of people it wants and keeps out the kind it does not want by setting entrance requirements. But each person who joins does so for reasons of his own. Though the members rarely comprise all the population of a locality, yet in general the larger the institution the more it is obliged to admit the people who are at hand without selecting, and then to keep those who once become members until they withdraw of their own choice. The state excludes very few of the aliens who wish to immigrate, and of those once admitted gets rid of still fewer by deportation or capital punishment.

The democratic movement, reënforced by the precepts of Christianity, has done much to promote the conservation of human life. Compelling an employer to compensate an injured workman makes him regardful of the safety of his employees; "Safety First" becomes the watchword. There is a "Bulletin on Safety Instruction in Schools," issued by a state superintendent, intended especially for boys and girls

in continuation schools. It describes twenty-five dangerous practices or causes of accidents, with appropriate warnings. There is a National Safety Council which has prepared a *Safety Primer* and will lend the plates of the book without cost to any city or state desiring to use them.

The use of social telesis to preserve health is now so familiar that a mere enumeration of some of its forms will suffice:

Instruction in hygiene in public schools; medical education in the state universities; state examination and license for physicians and pharmacists; regulation of building with reference to safety and sanitation; control of water supply; segregation of persons suffering from contagious diseases; inspection of foods to prevent unwholesome adulteration.

In regions that are sparsely settled but rich in resources there is likely to be concerted effort to increase the population by attracting immigration. Public opinion approves of early marriages and large families. In densely populated regions, on the other hand, the opposite conditions exist. What will be done when the entire world becomes so densely populated as to press upon the food supply and there are no more fertile lands to which to emigrate? It is difficult to foresee with any certainty, though easy to think of many things that *may* be done.

The most rational thing to do — and without waiting for the overcrowded condition to come — is to exercise telic selection upon the population toward improving its quality. The immigration laws of the United States prohibit the entry of defective persons, and require the deportation, at the expense of the steamship companies bringing them, of any persons who are found to be defective within one year after landing. On the statute books of the states — some of them, at least — are laws prohibiting the marriage of defectives. Some states segregate them in institutions, and a few permit or require their sterilization. Restraint is clearly justified with persons possessing a hereditary defect as serious as

feeble-mindedness, especially since they reproduce twice as rapidly as normal persons do. In early times the proportion of defectives was kept down by disease, starvation, and the prevalence of capital punishment for all sorts of crimes. Now that society is banishing such causes of death, the only rational course is to prevent hereditary defectives from reproducing. The half-heartedness and ineffectiveness of the measures already taken to that end are due to doubt as to just what defects make a person a useless member of society, and as to whether or not these defects are heritable. It makes us pause to see a person who was once considered feeble-minded turn out a genius. But these doubts are being settled by scientific investigation. When that is once done, a thorough application of preventive measures could eliminate the hereditary defectives in one generation. The elementary schools will have the important share of discovering the defectives, first through the regular grade teachers and principals, and finally through expert examiners. In time, increasing density of population will naturally raise the limit of the proscribed unfitness.

Whether society will ever agree upon an ideal type of human nature and sanction any method of selective breeding toward it, is a question which has so far been kept in the background. As far as biological factors are concerned, it would be entirely practicable to counteract the tendency of enlightened peoples to die off at the top. Social arrangements, however, have usually worked in the opposite direction. Enforcing celibacy on those engaged in any occupation tends to eliminate in the general population the qualities required in those who follow that occupation. To require that teachers be unmarried is to hasten the day when there will be no naturally gifted teachers. Now that the working of the hereditary factor is becoming better understood, more intelligent counsels will doubtless prevail in the future, seeking to better conserve the preferred strains in the population and perhaps even

multiply them. There are already competitive exhibits of "Better Babies" and "Better Boys." In 1914 there was held at Battle Creek, Michigan, a National Conference on Race Betterment. In 1912 was held in London the First International Eugenics Congress.

At Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, New York, is the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution. To work in affiliation with this the Eugenics Record Office was established in 1910. The chief purpose of the latter is to "build up an analytical index of the traits of American families." Other purposes, subsidiary to this, are giving advice in regard to proposed marriages, coöperating with other institutions in the study of eugenics, training field workers for other institutions and to conduct its own studies, and making itself a general clearing house for the study of human heredity in America. Anyone interested should write for fuller information.

Location and Communication

. . . We get the idea that man does not adapt to environment, but adapts the environment to himself and his needs. But we attain no power over nature till we learn natural laws, to conform and adapt ourselves to them. And then we come to be as dependent upon our adaptations as the bear upon his coat of fur or the woodpecker upon his sharp beak. Our lordship over nature consists in the adroitness with which we learn and conform. . . . — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, p. 22.

The toilsome process of finding by natural selection the industries suited to a locality, with the ruin of many individuals and the wasting of the country's resources after the manner of the pioneers, is now largely replaced by telic selection. The Geological Survey locates the mineral resources; the schools of mining tell how to work them. Agricultural experts analyze the soil; they study the climate and situation with reference to markets; they can decide before a furrow has been turned what crops will do best. These schools pay for themselves many times over. And still there

is room for their usefulness to be multiplied many fold. The scientific knowledge regarding each neighborhood, whether urban or rural, should be reduced to teachable form, as far as possible, and put into the local schools.

Cities were formerly allowed to extend themselves hither and yon as natural selection dictated. But now that the interrelation of the different parts of a city has become so important, more attention is being given to the planning of new or growing communities. World-wide competition was enlisted for the planning of the new capital of Australia, and the first prize of $10,000 was won by an American who was then engaged to supervise the laying out of the ground.

> . . . Noteworthy examples are the town of Pullman founded several years ago by the late George M. Pullman and now incorporated into Chicago, and the town of Gary near Chicago, founded to house hundreds of workers in the Steel Corporation's factories.
>
> Another striking example of the industrial town is that of Corey, also a Steel Corporation city, near Birmingham, Ala. . . .
>
> . . . The street plan is not the old gridiron, but a system of straight lines and easy curves guided by the topography. On the slopes, and throughout the town, trees have been left standing, and careful stipulation in all contracts safeguarded them during the construction period. Shrub planting has had much attention. The streets are wide, but the pavement is narrow on quiet residence streets, so that householders may have grass instead of unnecessary paving. Sewers, pavement, sidewalks, and all fundamental utilities were well provided before a house was built. — *The New York Times*, August 4, 1913.

The conservation of natural resources for future generations requires a policy of foresight. Private enterprise will do this in so far as saving for future use promises larger profits than present exploitation; it is the speculator *versus* the promoter. But, as has already been shown,[1] the speculator's foresight reaches only a century or two into the future. Intelligent patriotism wants greatness that is enduring; seeing "a thousand years as one day," it can be made sensitive about

[1] P. 290.

wastefulness. Gifford Pinchot and Theodore Roosevelt may be most esteemed in future centuries for developing this kind of sensitiveness.

Systems of communication need telic selection to guide their growth and regulate their operation. Each system must cover its field completely in order to have the maximum of efficiency, and that means that it should have no competitor. Private enterprise will, in time and if left to itself, develop the mechanical facilities of communication in accordance with this principle in order to gain the maximum of profit. But that puts the entire community in the power of private interests. Accordingly, in well-developed countries, railroads, canals, telegraphs, and telephones are either operated by the state, as are the highways and the post office, or else they are closely regulated by it. Steamship lines are tending the same way, only a little tardily. There is a shipping trust in the International Mercantile Marine, which, however, was practically bankrupt when the war saved it by causing high rates for ocean transportation. As these lines are being written, Congress has just appropriated $50,000,000 to be used in establishing a merchant marine.

Social Mind and Education

. . . In general, where the exact or scientific method can be applied, rational selection between the mores is possible. But this is chiefly, if not entirely, as things now are, in that part of societal activity where men have to do with actual, concrete, natural objects rather than with each other or with some higher power whose existence cannot be scientifically proved — that is, where they react upon natural environment in the effort to preserve life, or to preserve it more satisfactorily. . . . — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, pp. 140, 141.

. . . We now take the continuous discovery and immediate spread of mechanical inventions for granted, because we grant patents for them, and a patentee can make a fortune by pushing his ideas. But no patents are granted, because no monopoly is possible, for inventions in social organization. Though it may occasionally pay a railway company to

advertise a general notion, say of country walking, the inventors of the Boy Scouts have had to spend unrewarded years in laborious propaganda, and in still more laborious collection of subscriptions, before their ideas could be made effective. — Wallas, *The Great Society*, pp. 352, 353.

In other words, when we come to social organization, to dealing with persons rather than things, we find that our social telesis is crude, and necessarily so, because the science of society which would guide it is still crude. As Keller says elsewhere:

. . . We are but at the beginning of the scientific study of human society and the way for a long distance ahead is beset with all manner of difficulties unknown to natural science. — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, p. 89.

In primary groups there is some telesis. A group may "cultivate" the friendship of a newly arrived person. Some leaders in fashionable society are adepts at bringing together persons who will be congenial, and in making introductions that ripen into marriage or lifelong friendship.

The social mind is not beyond the reach of telic action. During a political campaign we see elaborate attempts to manufacture public opinion, and they are sometimes successful. Teachers strive to keep the social mind of a school in tune with certain ideals; in this some succeed better than others; this is the way the best school government is maintained. By far the most effective method of applying telesis to the social mind, and through that to social organization as a whole, is through education. When the leaders of thought in a country agree upon the ideal toward which they wish to work, the teachers of the country take it up and instill it into the minds of their pupils. Then, if the schools are efficient, that ideal will become the ideal of the country. It will take two generations to do this — one to train the teachers, and one to train the pupils. Then it may take a third generation to remake the social organization in accordance with the ideal so that this ideal will be actually operative. Of

course it must be granted that human nature sets limits to what can be accomplished in this way, but it is probably impossible to define them. The careful observer, while gaining an intimate acquaintance with various peoples, either by travel or by studying history, meets constant surprises in the kinds of ideals to which human nature is able to conform itself through either tradition or education.

Education has a bearing upon every social problem, and every social problem also has a bearing upon education. . . .

The task of social regeneration is essentially a task of education. . . .

In the higher education, the social sciences must be especially emphasized, because it is those who receive higher education who become the leaders of society, and it is important, no matter what occupation or profession they may serve society in, that they understand the bearings of their work upon social welfare. . . .

It is therefore not too much for the sociologist to say, agreeing with Thomas Davidson, that education is the last and highest method of social evolution. The lowest method of evolution was by selection, and *that*, as we have already emphasized, cannot be neglected. The next method — of adaptation . . . or social regulation by means of authority, must indefinitely persist and perhaps increase, rather than diminish; but the latest and highest method of social evolution is not through biological selection nor through the exercise of despotic authority, but through the education of the individual, so that he shall become adjusted to the social life in habits and character before he participates in it. Human society may be modified, we now see, best through modifying the nature of the individual, and the most direct method to do this is through education. . . . — Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, pp. 313–321, first edition; 260, 261, revised edition, with alterations. Copyright, 1910, 1913, by the American Book Company, Publishers.

. . . Theoretically the public school, and especially the universal elementary school, would seem to be a most effective agency through which to propagate reforms. As a matter of fact, it is not an effective agency of quick reform, largely because it must limit its program to materials that have become so clearly crystallized as to be readily taught by all teachers and so universally recognized and understood as to be accepted without question by all elements of the population. Unless an organized body of subject-matter exists, it is futile to try to "teach"

something on an extensive scale. The constant complaint of the critic that the schools do not "teach" this, that, or the other important or unimportant subject, virtue, art, or skill, owes its querulous inefficacy, nine times out of ten, either to the simple fact that there is nothing available in "teachable" form, or to the equally simple fact that important elements in the population would interpose a quick objection to the proposal. — *School and Home Education*, Vol. 34, p. 43, editorial.

. . . The process of education represents the greatest systematic attempt to put rational selection into operation that the world has seen. . . . — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, p. 231.

General Public Will and Social Classes

With respect to social classes we have first of all the aims of each class for its own advancement; intelligent foresight on the part of the members can do much to promote wholesome living among themselves. Social telesis in the interest of all classes, such as the statesman and the educator must exercise, watches the direction in which natural selection is going so as to allow for it in adjusting the relations between the classes. It is especially important that the classes be kept open so that each individual may be free to move from one class to another according to his special aptitude. Society then realizes on the natural endowments that are latent in the population, and incidentally forestalls discontent. One of the most efficient agencies in accomplishing this is a universal system of public schools which prepare for all vocations at nominal cost to each pupil.

Each class gathers a set of ideas peculiar to itself — customs, phrases, principles, rules. It is especially necessary to have principles defining the relations with other classes. Justice between two classes is merely the adjustment of relations between them on principles to which both agree. It does not make so much difference what the principles are, as that they shall be fixed and impartially administered; strife comes from disagreements that are not covered by settled principles. The principles usually settle themselves in time

through the course of events; in other words, they are settled by natural selection. Some one has said that a war never settles anything, which means, doubtless, that war comes from the attempt of the advocates of the waning principle to save themselves; some social class finds itself losing ground in the conflicts of peace, and hopes to succeed better by violent means. In the end, historians are able to show that the war was virtually decided before it began, in that power had insensibly passed from one social class to another, or one nation to another; all the war did was to make the change evident; the result would have been much the same in time had there been no war. "The mills of the gods grind slowly," says an old proverb, "but they grind exceeding fine." Natural selection does its work quietly, but none the less surely. Its irresistible march would be terrifying were it not so slow that the outcome remains unnoticed until it actually arrives. "After us the deluge," said the members of the ruling caste in France before the Revolution, and then instead of reforming their financial system they borrowed more money for frivolities. "Not in our generation," is the answer which the ruling classes to-day make to the warnings of economists and sociologists. When the leaders of class opinion are wise they foresee the impending change and employ telic action to prepare for it before it comes.

Institutions

How far are institutions matters of real choice, and not merely products of evolution? There are critical times when a single decision, or the policy of a single leader or administrator, or the vote at some popular election, seems to give a turn to human affairs that is never after effaced. Such occasions come frequently under our own observation in relatively small matters of business or school. The trouble with these, however, is that the remote consequences have not yet appeared. History shows such occasions with their

remote consequences set forth in a long perspective. One of them was the choice of Alexander the Great for a romantic career of conquest in the East instead of building up a strong Græco-Macedonian state which later could have kept the Romans out and preserved Greek institutions. Such was the choice of Otto I of Germany to interfere in Italy, thus condemning both Germany and Italy to nine centuries of disunion and weakness. Such was the wish of Georgia in 1787 to continue the importation of slaves.

But such occasions are exceptional. Ordinarily leaders and cabinets and legislatures are borne along on a resistless trend of events like a canoe shooting a rapid; their choice is effective, not in going against the tide, but in making land at this point rather than that as they are carried along. Statesmanship consists in discerning the trend of affairs, and then in adjusting our institutions to the trend. Some short-sighted leaders or a whim of popular impression may choose not to do this, and so wreck the institution, in which case its place will be taken by another that will meet the conditions; or instead of wrecking it they may only condemn it to years of inefficiency, just holding the ground against something better. The far-sighted policy is to keep an institution from becoming rigid, to keep it adjustable so that it can be fitted to changing conditions.

The difficulties which beset any attempt to change old conventions and institutions are sometimes described in language which attributes some magical power to "tradition" or "custom," or finds some perverse preference in human nature for whatever is old. Doubtless there are persons who prefer the old to the new, without reason, just as a matter of habit; but that habit first had to be drilled into them by experience. And there is a reason for it. Whatever is old must have some measure of success behind it; it is the fortunate survivor of countless variations. Moreover, it is part of a great system of things which is also old for the most

part; to change the single feature is likely to put it out of harmony with the system into which it has been fitted by a long process of natural selection.

Take the current discussion of the school curriculum, for example. Latin and algebra hold their place, not so much because school authorities revere the old, as because these old studies satisfy the first requirement of the classroom teacher, namely, a carefully graded course of work, in which definite assignments can be made and the attainments of the pupils graded according to uniform standards. These requirements are especially insistent with the teacher who has many and large classes to handle. Take again the criticism of the normal schools that they tend away from the pedagogical aspects of the common branches and toward advanced work in language, mathematics, history and science. Now it is not necessary to ascribe this tendency to the wish of the teachers to ape the colleges, or to any other ignoble aim. It is simply due to the fact that the professional aspects of the common branches, like most of the courses in education everywhere, have not yet been standardized so as to conform to the above requirements of the classroom teacher, and perhaps never can be; the straight academic work goes better and the students like it better, because it has been put into shape to be taught.

. . . Astronomers invent every year more delicate methods of forecasting the movements of the stars, but cannot with all their skill divert one star an inch from its course. So we students of politics will find that our growing knowledge brings us only a growing sense of helplessness. . . .

. . . It was easy in the old days to rely on the belief that human life and conduct would become perfect if men only learnt to know themselves. . . . We, however, who live after Darwin, have learnt the hard lesson that we must not expect knowledge, however full, to lead us to perfection. . . . — Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics*, pp. 168, 178.

If the best informed and educated of men are likely to reach the conclusion that in the more complicated issues of societal evolution it

is just as well, and probably inevitable, to "trust nature," it is because they are better aware than are those who wish to tinker and meddle, of all the complexities and difficulties attendant upon an attempt at rational selection. . . . It is only the shallow and half-educated who do not hesitate to evolve "programs" when it comes to the more derived and less knowable and verifiable societal processes. The truly wise stand aghast before the tangled skein and hesitate to take hold of it; they see that the multiplicity of causes behind societal phenomena, and the consequent impossibility of foreseeing effects, are likely to vitiate any rational procedure possible to the human mind as yet evolved. . . . — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, pp. 137–139.

(See also the selection on pp. 361, 362 from *School and Home Education.*)

Government

Social telesis comes only when social organization reaches a high degree of development in the government of an institution. Natural selection has no goal — at least none which the naturalist recognizes, although metaphysics may postulate a goal for it. Telic selection sets up a goal that as fully as possible embodies the ideals in the public mind, and then coördinates the energies of the members of the institution for its attainment, coercing the unwilling ones if necessary. Natural selection leaves each individual intelligence to pursue its particular interest. Telic selection subordinates particular interest to general interest and regulates conflict within the institution so as to avoid waste of resources; thus it conserves the resources for great enterprises which would otherwise be impossible, and makes progress toward the goal.

If we look at the local life going on around us in town and school, we see many things which could be better done collectively than individually, and with far less cost of time and money, thus making it possible to do other things now left undone. Extending the range of social telesis has been one factor in the tremendous progress of the past century. A measure of it is found in the growth of cities, since rural life is mainly individualistic. About half the population of the

United States is now classified as urban. In many kinds of activity individual enterprise has given way to corporate, and smaller corporations have combined with larger ones. Many kinds of activity have been taken over by the state, the supreme agency of social telesis, and small states have combined into larger ones — some by conquest, some by peaceful annexation, some by federation.

How far is this to go? Is the socialist's vision — one universal state owning all the capital and carrying on all the industries — to be realized? No, that is only a vision, and we should be neither allured nor disturbed by it. If such a state were once established the children would still trade with one another in colored water, housewives would do business among themselves in food supplies, some men would consume less than the share of product assigned to them, and the accumulation of private capital would begin all over again. The reason is that human nature craves liberty above everything else; opportunity for individual initiative will always be found, in getting up revolutions if no other way offers. Combination is welcome, therefore, only when it is necessary, when it gives more liberty than it takes away. "Liberty *and* union" is still the watchword, and liberty still leads. If play in the team allows the boy less scope for his activities than he finds playing alone or with a single companion, then he will leave the team. So the range of telic selection extends only as the technical situation gives opportunity and as the efficiency of government extends, the latter borne up by the capacity and moral qualities of the ruling class.

When telic selection lays hold of natural selection and attempts to guide it, the aim should never be to suppress struggle, either within the institution or between it and other institutions, but to raise it to a higher plane. The important question is, what type of person or social organization does a given form of struggle favor and what type does it tend to eliminate?

Most of past civilization is, so to speak, of rather an instinctive type, a more or less unconscious electing of fairly effective means for attaining on the whole fairly worthy ends. . . . Nature has been fairly tamed and gives up her treasures freely. Man is confronted with the tremendous problem of squaring himself with himself in the effort to utilize these riches justly. Future civilization must, in consequence, become more and more rational, self-motivated, definitely willed. The haphazard, unconscious, and halting progress of the past may be considered simply as the preparation for a conscious and deliberate movement toward social reorganization in the interest of a program of conscious advance. . . . — Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, pp. 505, 506.

The apparatus of control and administration of great cities is yet following afar off upon their rapid material development; adaptation is still very imperfect. But that there is coming into being a system of control which is quite different in degree and complexity from anything the world has yet seen, admits of no doubt. New situations arise so rapidly and suddenly that the existing regulative machinery is always strained beyond its capacity. . . . — Keller, *Societal Evolution*, p. 320.

Paradoxical though the assertion looks, the progress is at once toward complete separateness and complete union. But the separateness is of a kind consistent with the most complex combinations for fulfilling social wants; and the union is of a kind that does not hinder entire development of each personality. Civilization is evolving a state of things and a kind of character, in which two apparently conflicting requirements are reconciled . . . in the ultimate man perfect morality, perfect individuation, and perfect life will be simultaneously realized.

Yet must this highest individuation be joined with the greatest mutual dependence. — Spencer, *Social Statics*, p. 482, first edition.

. . . A population in which the individuals are under no inward restraint from lying, or stealing, or violating their promises, so long as the odds are in favor of not getting caught, is a population with a materially and morally high cost of living. Everyone has to pay more for what he gets, and he gets less for what he pays, than in a population otherwise in the same stage of technical development, but made up of people who have a high degree of regard for one another's rights. This is true, not of pecuniary cost alone, but of all the effort, both active and passive, which must be charged to the overhead cost of life.

. . . We are remodeling the older type of self-reliance into self-reliance in executing team-plays. Instead of stimulating one another to fight each his own battle, we are demanding that each shall fall into the ranks of the social battle. We are broadening the principle of thrift

into the program of social conservation. Instead of being content with the savage half-truth every man for himself, we are trying to see steadily within the wider view that in the long run men cannot make the most of themselves unless each is for all. We are trying to take in the discovery of a few, that "every man the architect of his own fortune" builds at last a few sightly structures, in a wilderness of many failures and much débris and wreckage. We are becoming conscious of the task of converting the ideal "Every man the architect of his own fortune" into that of "every man in his place in building the city efficient and the city beautiful." We are facing the problem of convincing ourselves that "God helps those that help themselves" much less than he helps those who most systematically help one another. — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 20, pp. 635, 637, A. W. Small, "The Bonds of Nationality."

The Goal

The word *telic* comes from the Greek, *telos*, meaning end, or goal. Each institution needs to have a clear conception of its goal, the purpose for which it exists, its function in the world, just as each person can have a satisfactory life only by having some end for which to strive that seems supremely worth while.

Is there such a goal for all institutions in the aggregate, for humanity as a whole? If there is it must be, for the present, at least, a metaphysical one. How is it then with a country, a race, a community? There again, except for the state (of which more later), there is no organization which is competent to set up a definite goal. Doubtless every people or community which maintains internal communication at all close has some sort of vague sentiment as to what its place in the world is. Take our own country, the United States, for example. Ask a dozen people what the goal or mission of this country is, and you will get a dozen different answers, though there will be similarity between some of them. Just as each community, in so far as it has a goal at all, has a different kind of goal from what any other community has, so also each generation, in so far as it comes to any agreement at all about the chief end toward which to strive, makes

its end different from that of any other generation. But for humanity as a whole, and for all time, statements of the "chief end of man" range widely, and the more widely, the farther we depart from the physical basis of biology and psychology.

Ethics is the study which deals specifically with this subject. Every student should dip into it to help him to a clearer vision of his own place in the world, and then he can more easily decide with what social movements or organizations he will wish to become affiliated, and toward what ends these organizations should work.

The social goal of the democracy is the advancement and improvement of the people through a democratization of the advantages and opportunities of life. This goal is to be attained through a conservation of life and health, a democratization of education, a socialization of consumption, a raising of the lowest elements of the population to the level of the mass. . . . — Weyl, *The New Democracy*, p. 320.

. . . At least along four lines Western peoples have been failing to conserve their higher ideals, namely, along the lines of the family, of government, of religion, and of morality. — Ellwood, *The Social Problem*, p. 196.

I labor for the coming of a happy day to the human race.

I see children, joyous and free, their souls no longer stifled by want, their little bodies no longer ground into dividends.

I see a human race, released from its economic servitude, develop spiritually and intellectually, beyond the dream of the most hopeful idealist.

I see a world, freed from the sordid misery that brings endless mourning to thousands, become a place of peace and happiness;

A world without potentates and titles, without war and destruction, without degradation and abasement;

A world wherein love has supplanted hate, tenderness has displaced greed, and light has dissipated darkness. — *The Survey*, Vol. 32, p. 620, Everhart.

Social Hygiene . . . is no longer merely an attempt to deal with the conditions . . . as they occur, without going to their source, but it aims at prevention. It ceases to be simply a reforming of forms, and approaches in a comprehensive manner not only the conditions of life, but life itself. In the second place, its method is no longer haphazard, but

organized and systematic, being based on a growing knowledge of those biological sciences which were scarcely in their infancy when the era of social reform began. . . . It is the inevitable method by which at a certain stage civilization is compelled to continue its own course, and to preserve, perhaps to elevate, the race. — Ellis, *The Task of Social Hygiene*, pp. 1, 2.

The solution proposed is the development in society, to the greatest extent possible, of the two somewhat opposite and yet complementary social forces, education and organization: education in order to secure for the individual the largest degree of development; organization in order to secure for the community the results of all individual progress. Neither force alone is sufficient. Each is necessary to modify and supplement the other. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 13, p. 546, Elkin.

. . . But as nearly as I can state what to me is the end of human progress, it would be somewhat in this form: that the final goal of all things, if they have or can be made to have a goal, is not some merely static perfection for God, society, or the individual; it is the identification of personal interest with social interest to an increasing degree. You may paraphrase this as consecrated intelligence, or as reconciling freedom of individual will with evolution of society, or as the identification of man individualized and man socialized. . . . — Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, p. 547.

Social technology must start with an anlysis of desirable ends of concerted volition analyzed by psychology, revealed in history, widely presented in art and literature, and justified by social philosophy. Human purpose directed to desirable ends is an objective fact, like a star or crystal. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 18, p. 217, C. R. Henderson, "Applied Sociology."

But what is this best life? We cannot define it, we cannot formulate it, in any one word or phrase. It will be differently conceived of according to the measure in which it is realized. The ideal determines the actual, but is also determined by it. As humanity advances, as man comes to understand himself and his aims more and more, these aims appear to him in new forms. They change as he changes. Each generation has its own ideal of what is best and highest. . . . — Ritchie, *Principles of State Interference*, p. 103.

Topics

1. Compare Ward's view of what constitutes social telesis with Cooley's view of public will. Which do you prefer? Ward, *Pure Sociol-*

ogy, pp. 544–549; *Applied Sociology*, pp. 2–13, 287–292, 317, 318; *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, p. 239; *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 179–182, 222–225, 290–293; Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 395–419.

2. Explain Vierkandt's distinction between "nature people" and "culture people." Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 403–405.

3. Devise a plan of self-government for keeping order in this school. See p. 273. King, *Social Aspects of Education*, pp. 291–309.

4. Education as a factor in progress. Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 665–668; King, *Social Aspects of Education*, pp. 217–239, references; Dealey, *Sociology*, pp. 243–257; Gillette, *Vocational Education*, pp. 211–224; Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, pp. 354–367; *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 18, pp. 622–640, Monroe, "Human Interrelationships and Education."

5. Read in Sumner's *Folkways* and try to discover if there is any ideal to which human nature cannot become habituated.

6. Government as a factor in progress. Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 410–419; Ward, *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, pp. 321–331; *Pure Sociology*, pp. 249–275; Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 379–387.

7. The socialist idea of progress, and criticism of it. Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, pp. 297–310; Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 405–410.

8. Can war be suppressed? Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 627–631, 646–651.

9. Compare this view of society as a self-directing body with the organic theory of society. With the conflict theory. Which is true? Fairbanks, *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 54–62; Ross, *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 272–290. "Is all this moonshine? Can society by taking thought create itself anew?"—Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, p. 506.

Problems

1. A hundred people are gathered in a room engaged in conversation. They raise a hum which can be heard a block away. Do they intend to do it? Why do so many of them talk louder than ordinarily? Compare with the noise on the playgrounds of a school; also in corridors, library, and study rooms. What kinds of work does noise interfere with? Where such work must be carried on and many people are gathered how can noise be prevented?

2. To what extent do the students of this school as a body set up ends or aims for themselves and set about realizing them? Do the

occupants of the library and study rooms have the kind of order they wish?

3. Name some great benefits which collective action could secure among the students of this school. In this city.

4. What conditions set limits to the scope of governmental activity? May we expect that the program of the socialists can sometime be carried out?

5. Compare the influence on the future of humanity which is exerted by the mother of six children with that of a grammar grade teacher who serves successfully for twenty-five years.

6. Which statement of the goal of society seems to you the best? Expand it in your own words, or else write out an improved statement of your own.

References

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 7, pp. 427, 428, Forrel, summary of article; Vol. 8, pp. 336–359, Lloyd, "The Social Ideal"; Vol. 10, pp. 1–25, Galton and others, "Eugenics"; Vol. 11, pp. 11–25, Galton, "Studies in Eugenics," pp. 277–296, discussion of same; Vol. 12, pp. 576, 577, summary of article describing *L'Élite*, a French association for the conservation and improvement of the human species; Vol. 13, pp. 541–560, Elkin, "The Problem of the Twentieth Century"; Vol. 20, pp. 98–103, "Eugenics and So-called Eugenics"; Vol. 22, pp. 369–380, Sims, "Social Progress and the Purposeful Utilization of the Surplus."

* Bagley, *The Educative Process*, pp. 23–39.

Betts, *Social Principles of Education*, pp. 32–50, 176–191.

Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 373–378, aims of society; 414–422, estimation of progress.

Bogardus, *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 314–321.

Castle, *Genetics and Eugenics*, pp. 260–277.

Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, *The Child in the City*, pp. 464–481, city planning; 485–493, plans for children.

Conklin, *Heredity and Environment*, pp. 410–440, 482–491.

Conn, *Social Heredity and Social Evolution*, pp. 281–344, two chapters.

Davenport, *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics*, pp. 1–5, 252–271.

Dealey, *Sociology*, pp. 67–73, 195–199.

Devine, *Misery and Its Causes*, pp. 239–274.

Ellis, *The Task of Social Hygiene*, pp. 1–48, 193–211.

Ellwood, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, pp. 287–312.

Ellwood, *The Social Problem*, pp. 1–47, 98–144, 196–249.

Eugenics Record Office, Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, N. Y.,

publishes memoirs, bulletins, reports, blank schedules for recording family traits and other eugenic data, and occasional books.

Gillette, *Vocational Education*, pp. 161–185.

Guyer, *Being Well-Born*, pp. 289–339.

Hayes, C., *British Social Politics*, pp. 263–346, housing.

Hayes, E. C., *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 398–405, 258–276.

* Humphrey, *Mankind*, pp. 196–223.

Keller, *Societal Evolution*, pp. 90–168, summarized in last two pages; 217–246, 310–326.

Kelly, *Ethical Gains through Legislation*,

* Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society*, pp. 266–296, eugenics, progress.

King, *Education for Social Efficiency*, pp. 280–304.

McKim, *Heredity and Human Progress*, Chapters V–VIII.

Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education*: "Eugenics," references; "Progress"; "Research, Endowment of."

Mosby, *Causes and Cures of Crime*, pp. 82–110.

Nearing, *Social Adjustment*, pp. 313–321.

Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, pp. 301–320, eugenics; 449–455, progress.

Ross, *Social Control*, pp. 432–442.

School and Society, Vol. 4, pp. 913–918, Alexander, "Public Opinion and the Schools."

Scientific Monthly, Vol. 4, pp. 446–455, "Science and Modern Civilization"; 554–566, suppression of bubonic plague.

Seager, *Social Insurance*, pp. 146–175.

Sumner, *Folkways*, pp. 87–98, 113–118, on the possibility of modifying the mores.

Todd, *Theories of Social Progress* especially, pp. 257–273, 505–548.

Towne, *Social Problems*, pp. 307–387, conservation.

Ward, *Applied Sociology*, pp. 285–339.

Weyl, *The New Democracy*, pp. 320–347.

Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems*, especially pp. 1–16; 135–167, eugenics.

CHAPTER XV

CYCLES OF CHANGE

". . . History always turns in the same circle — Le Bon, *The Psychology of Peoples*, p. 229.

Social activities are periodic. Harvests and food-supplies are alternately abundant and meagre. Exchanges, in fairs and markets, are rhythmical, and the balance of international trade is ever changing; prices rise and fall. Industrial depressions alternate with periods of industrial prosperity. The tide of immigration rises and falls. War and peace, conservatism and liberalism, alternate. Religion, morals, philosophy, science, literature, art, and fashion are all subject to the law of rhythm. — Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 370.

I wonder why it is that everything tends to run down. I used to try to get my school or my class into shape so that it would stay in shape and allow me to give attention to something else. But I have learned that things don't work that way. The only way to keep a good school is to keep everlastingly at it. The most careful work of organization will soon have to be done all over again. — A normal school president.

This anonymous paragraph was the impromptu utterance of a middle-aged man, connected with schools all his life and the president of a normal school for eight years, while talking to his students one morning about some lapse in their behavior. Does it express a general truth? Change is universal. Is there also system about the changes? Do they have some kind of course to run which is repeated over and over again? The history of a nation has often been likened to the life of a person: it passes through the stages of youth, middle age, and old age to death. Is this anything more than an analogy? If so, does it apply to schools, classes, student

organizations? To churches and business establishments? To states and races? To civilization itself?

Rhythm in Nature

The natural world in which we live, and of which we humans constitute a part, works on the basis of cycle. It is a commonplace of physics that every process tends to run down and stop because the energy back of it becomes exhausted in overcoming resistance, and changes to some other form. Whatever may seem to be a continuing process is really a moving equilibrium which continues by rhythm or cycle; one force dominates for a time, only to yield the dominance sooner or later to some other force. Every process goes by ebb and flow like the tides of the sea. A stream has a winding course because the current impinges against the banks, first on one side, and then on the other. Day alternates with night, winter alternates with summer. There are also longer cycles: for a series of years there is abundant rainfall, then for some years succeeding these the rainfall is scanty; sun-spots have their cycles, and electrical storms; and probably also earthquakes and glacial epochs; the precession of the equinoxes makes a cycle of 26,000 years. But nature makes no more use of regular curves that form exact circles than she does of straight lines. Her curves are segments of ellipses or hyperbolas; the elliptical curves, however, when carefully followed, usually do not return to themselves to make true ellipses but run into cycloids. Nevertheless, rhythm in the physical world is everywhere present in some form or other.

As from antagonist physical forces, as from antagonist emotions in each man, so from the antagonist social tendencies men's emotions create, there always results, not a medium state, but a rhythm between opposite states. The one force or tendency is not continuously counterbalanced by the other force or tendency, but now the one greatly predominates, and presently by reaction there comes a predominance of the other. . . . — Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*, p. 164.

The approach of the second glaciation is indicated along the southeast coast of Great Britain by the *subsidence* of the land and the rise of the sea, accompanied by a fresh arctic current, bringing with it an invasion of arctic mollusks which were deposited in a layer of marine beds directly over those which contain the rich warm fauna and flora of the "Forest Bed of Cromer," Norfolk. It also appears probable that a cold northern current swept along the western coasts of Europe, and Geikie estimates that a lowering of temperature occurred of not less than 20 degrees Fahr., a change as great as is now experienced in passing from the south of England to the North Cape.

. . . The largest of the present glaciers of the Pyrenees is only 2 miles in length and terminates at a height of 7200 feet above the sea. During the greatest glaciation the snow appears to have descended 4265 feet below its present level. From the Pyrenees . . . into Spain there flowed a glacier 38 miles in length, while to the north the glacier of the Garonne flowed for a distance of 45 miles. . . . Even in its lower reaches this glacier was over half a mile in thickness. To the east was a glacier 38 miles in length. . . .

. . . The climate immediately following the retreat of the glaciers was cool and moist in the glaciated regions, but this was followed by such a prolonged period of heat and dryness that the glaciers on the Alps withdrew to a point far above their present limits. — Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age*, pp. 86–90.

With living things the rhythmical process underlying all others is the one which the physiologist calls metabolism. One phase of it is anabolism; the taking of nutrition and the assimilation of it into the cells which compose the various tissues of the body. The other phase is katabolism: the using up of the stored material in producing activity of one kind or another. Since this second phase involves oxidation, we may assist our conception of it by likening it to the burning of fuel under the boiler of an engine. These two phases tend to alternate with each other, though neither ever ceases entirely; strictly speaking, it is the periods of stress that alternate. Stimulus comes to an animal through its nervous system; the animal plays, runs from enemies, hunts food, or builds a home, according to the nature of the stimulus and the conditions of its organs. This activity exhausts the tissues

of the organs used, thus causing hunger and weariness; the animal eats and sleeps and then eats again; the anabolic process becomes predominant. This alternation of anabolism and katabolism is sometimes very brief, as in the movements of the heart or those of the sense organs. The eye can gaze at an object without interruption for only a few seconds, then it gets rest by being covered with the eyelid and turning away to another object; but in a few seconds it has a new supply of energy and is ready to gaze again.

. . . The best test is a man's daily work, the thing to which he devotes most of his time and energy. Accordingly, I have taken the records of over five hundred factory operatives in the cities of New Haven, New Britain, and Bridgeport, in Connecticut, three or four thousand operatives in southern cities from Virginia to Florida, and over seventeen hundred students at the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, and the Military Academy at West Point. In most cases each person's record covers an entire year, or at least the academic year. All the records have been compared with the various conditions of the weather. The results are surprising. Changes in the barometer seem to have little effect. Humidity possesses a considerable degree of importance, but the most important element is clearly temperature. The people here considered are physically most active when the average temperature is from 60 to 65 degrees, that is, when the noon temperature rises to 70 degrees or even more. This is higher than many of us would expect. Mental activity reaches a maximum when the outside temperature averages about 38 degrees, that is, when there are mild frosts at night. Another highly important climatic condition is the change of temperature from one day to the next. People do not work well when the temperature remains constant. Great changes are also unfavorable. The ideal conditions are moderate changes, especially a cooling of the air at frequent intervals.

Man is not the only organism that is benefited by changes of temperature. Numerous experiments have shown that plants are subject to a similar influence. If a plant is subjected to unduly low or high temperature, its growth is retarded. As the temperature approaches the optimum, the rate of growth increases. When the optimum is maintained steadily, however, not only does the increase cease, but retrogression sets in, and the rate of growth declines. A moderate change of temperature away from the optimum and then back again after a few hours checks this decline, and keeps the plant at a maximum degree of

activity. Thus conditions where the thermometer swings back and forth on either side of the optimum are distinctly better than where the optimum is maintained steadily. Thus it seems to be a law of organic life that variable temperature is better than uniformity.

. . . It is universally recognized that one of the most important of the bodily functions is the circulation of the blood. . . . Changes of temperature are a powerful agent to this end Witness the effect of a bath, either cold or very hot. . . . — Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, pp. 8, 120, 121.

Rhythm of Groups Based on Nature

This metabolic rhythm impresses itself on all group activity, and no one can be a successful "social engineer" who does not take account of it. The public speaker allows times in his address when his hearers may relax their attention or change the kind of mental process which he requires of them, and herein is the real reason for the jokes and anecdotes with which a long address is interspersed. A teacher does the same thing in a recitation by having a variety of work done. To the same end, the school program combines periods for study, manual training, recitation, gymnastics, and play.

Some of the longer periods of the metabolic rhythm are synchronized with those of nature. The earth's daily rotation makes a cycle which has become inherent in the constitution of every living thing, of every person, and of every form of social life. The school assembles in the morning, has "morning exercises," and goes through those forms of work which demand the highest degree of mental efficiency; then there is an interval for lunch, and then the afternoon and evening have their appropriate exercises. The daily round repeats itself with more or less of regularity. The weekly cycle does not appear to correspond to anything in organic nature, but it probably has a metabolic basis else it would not be so prevalent. The lunar month is a cycle in nature from which the month of our calendar is derived; it is therefore a cycle with which many social arrangements are timed,

such as the payment of salaries, and the making of reports. The cycle of seasons resulting from the annual revolution of the earth around the sun forces human society everywhere through a corresponding cycle of important changes which vary according to the climate of the particular locality.

The principle involved in all the forms of relaxation . . . is relief from tension or release from some form of restraint. Although this tension and restraint on the part of the individual are necessary conditions of all social evolution, they have been greatly intensified by the manner of life which characterizes the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. . . .

When this everlasting urge of progress is excessive, as it has been in recent times, we may say that there is in a way a constant subconscious rebellion against it and a constant disposition to escape from it, and the method of escape is always the temporary reversion to simpler and more primitive forms of behavior, — a return to nature, so to speak. Sudden momentary and unexpected release from this tension, with instinctive reinstatement of primitive forms of expression, is laughter. Daily or periodic systematic return to primitive forms of activity is sport or play. War is a violent social reversion to elemental and natural intertribal relations. Profanity is a resort to primitive forms of vocal expression to relieve a situation which threatens one's well-being. Alcohol is an artificial means of relieving mental tension by the narcotizing of the higher brain centers. — Patrick, *The Psychology of Relaxation*, pp. 18–20.

. . . The course of annual rainfall in the great cereal-producing area of the United States has been shown to move in cycles: there is a ground-swell of thirty-three years in length upon which cycles of eight years in duration are superposed.

. . . The rhythm in the activity of economic life, the alternation of buoyant, purposeful expansion with aimless depression, is caused by the rhythm in the yield per acre of the crops; while the rhythm in the production of the crops is, in turn, caused by the rhythm of changing weather which is represented by the cyclical changes in the amount of rainfall. . . . — Moore, *Economic Cycles*, pp. 36, 135.

The Cycle of a Generation

In still another way man's physical organism gives rise to a cycle in society, namely, through the length of time required for an individual to come to maturity and then to live out

his term of life. It has often been noted that a particular movement in a people lasts for about a generation. This is as much as to say that it has a term of life, a cycle through which it lives. In politics the cycle finds its most distinct beginning in the popular acceptance of a set of radical ideas; it develops next into a period of reform and ends in a period of reaction. In military history it begins in a period of peace with the shifting of the balance of power between nations or the growth of some strained relation; active preparation of armaments follows, the cycle culminates in the war itself; the treaty of peace marks the end of one cycle and the beginning of another. A striking example of this, familiar to the student of history, is the interval of a generation which came between the great Crusades of the twelfth century. In business there is the familiar cycle which may be said to begin with the opening of new forms of wealth-getting and to progress through the stages of slow expansion of credit, speculation, panic, and depression. In art, science, philosophy, religion, education, and other lines of higher culture there is the launching of a new idea, its more or less general acceptance, its application in practice or to other lines of thought, ending in the recognition of its shortcomings and the reaction against it.

The synchronizing of the beginning and ending of these movements with the coming and passing of a generation, though a commonplace idea, has never, so far as the writer is aware, been worked out inductively; it is therefore impossible to make positive statements in regard to it. By deductive analysis the following inferences would seem legitimate. A generation of young men come to maturity, eager to be up with the times, impatient of the old things and ready to give attention to the new; the social mind in which they grow up is therefore that of the more radical thinkers of the time. When these young men get into active life they fight the campaign for the new ideas, in time winning some measure

of success. The new ideas prove useful in some respects and disappointing in some. The movement as a whole finally works itself out and off as the men who brought it on die or grow old. Then there is another generation of young men ready to take hold, and the ground is clear for a new movement of some kind. This cycle of a generation coincides roughly in duration with the longer cycles of rainfall which Moore makes the basis of the greater economic crises.

Cycle in Communication and Social Mind

Communication passes through a cycle in the form or manner of it. A great battle was fought yesterday; it was reported in a characteristic way in the papers last evening, then in a different way in this morning's papers; there were editorials on it this morning, and more will come this evening and to-morrow morning; then the weekly papers and magazines will tell of it so as to show its place in the campaign; then there will be analyses by experts, accounts by eye witnesses, and other articles on special phases of it for a longer or shorter time according to its relative prominence and the hold it has on popular impression. But no matter how prominent it may be, popular impression will tire of it after a while; information of any kind about it will no longer be news; even information never published before will only be history.

A congenial group goes through a cycle of changes, as every one knows who has thought about the matter. It takes time for a newly formed group to learn to know one another. Then after the possibilities of the group have been exhausted the association tends to become stale; some work in which the group may have become engaged may continue to hold it together, as may also the ideal of loyalty to friends or some other moral principle; but the keen enjoyment of the first acquaintance is gone.

Each phase of the social mind has its own cycle of changes. The briefer ones end by merging into the more durable. In

general the duration of any phase varies inversely as its intensity. A mob, for example, rarely lasts longer than a few hours; the members become tired and hungry and must think of other things than the ones which brought them together; the mob therefore disperses, unless there be some practical reason why it should keep together; it can keep together only by becoming organized, and then it ceases to be a mob. Popular impression takes shape quickly in the minds of an extensive population as the daily papers and casual conversation work on the news of the day. But it soon merges into something quite different. On matters requiring action it merges into public opinion; on matters which never come to a definite finish, but which yet continue to hold attention, it merges into popular sentiment. Public opinion in turn, since it takes shape from the deliberately formed conclusions of the more capable members of the population, is slower in growing and holds to a given subject longer. There is more of social telesis in it; there is less of mere natural selection in it than there is in popular impression. Public opinion, therefore, is likely to hold to its object until some definite result has been obtained, after which it, too, becomes quiescent and merges into popular sentiment. This last process, doubtless, a psychologist would explain by saying that the intellectual content of the opinions is forgotten while the affective response to the situations to which they relate remains. These cycles of the social mind may be observed in a political campaign; also in a propaganda of any kind, such as that for military preparedness in the United States in 1916, and in the proceedings by which the students of a school are brought to support some project.

. . . A democratic reform is instituted in one of our States with a blazon of trumpets. Thereafter we hear rumors of its working ill or well. Then silence. A dozen years later, we are surprised to learn that half the States have adopted the new institution, and soon we forget the evil conditions which preceded, and think of the reform no longer

as an improvement, but as a thing upon which we are absurdly slow to improve.

. . . "The heirs of all the ages" are spoilt children, valuing only their very newest toys. An infant born a few generations ago might have been elated over the steam engine; a child born to-day will find the telephone, automobile, and X-ray commonplaces. He will no more think of aviation as progress than we regard plowing and arithmetic as valuable social acquisitions. — Weyl, *The New Democracy*, pp. 158, 159.

. . . During the war many people felt that the heroic temper, the spirit of self-sacrifice for an ideal, the exaltation of sentiment called forth, were certain to raise our civilization permanently to a higher level, and to produce a lasting effect on the national character. But that has not been the experience with great wars hitherto. The wars of Napoleon were followed by an era of material progress, where interest was centered in the accumulation of wealth. Our own Civil War was followed by the lowest state of political morals that we have ever known, reaching its climax in the Tweed Ring in New York. The war of 1870 was followed in Germany by the growth of materialism that culminated in the present attempt to exploit mankind by force. Nor are these unnatural results. On the material side, war destroys vast quantities of property which have to be replaced, rolls up debts that have to be paid, and it is natural that after a war people should seek to repair the damage it has caused. On the spiritual side, also, any great moral effort is liable to be followed by a period of moral relaxation. After a great war, therefore, and not least, perhaps, after a war that has awakened so great an enthusiasm and devotion, it is wise to beware of a materialistic reaction. . . .— *Official Register of Harvard University*, March 20, 1919, A. Lawrence Lowell, "President's Report."

In a Social Class; Immigrants

A social class represents some balance of forces in the population. It is therefore almost certain to become either more numerous or less numerous, either to increase or to decrease in influence, to change its opinion of itself and of other classes. An example of a declining class is found in a community which contains many immigrants of one nationality. These immigrants make a distinct class, with the language, religion, and other customs brought from their former home. But such a class loses its distinctive character and becomes Americanized

in one or more generations according to the degree of communication which it is obliged to maintain with other classes. The successive stages in this process are much the same everywhere. The teacher should have some inkling of what they are, because a school in almost any part of the United States may have to accommodate its work to some foreign element.

Welsh communities in America have made a brave fight to preserve the language of their fatherland, which is so dear to them. . . . The longevity of the Welsh language varies in proportion to the size of the community, its geographical position, the proportion of Welsh in the community, and the degree of migration from Wales into the community. . . .

The average period of persistence of the Welsh language in Welsh communities is about three generations or about 80 years; sometimes more, and frequently less. Concerning the Welsh settlement in Ohio, briefly studied, . . . the following may be stated regarding the longevity of the Welsh language in them. Paddy's Run, settled over a hundred years ago, passed through its most flourishing period in the '30's and '40's. At present there are only four old settlers in Paddy's Run who can speak the Welsh language. . . . In the Jackson and Gallia settlement, the strongest and best organized Welsh settlement in America in her palmy days, and the best fortified by natural environment against extraneous influences, the Welsh language is rapidly vanishing, and is being supplanted by English even in the church services. About one-third of the preaching done in the settlement is in English, perhaps more. About two-thirds of the Sunday School classes in the churches are conducted in the English language. Gomer in Allen County, settled in 1838, is rapidly changing its complexion linguistically. Half of the preaching services are in English and more than half of the Sunday School classes are carried on in that tongue. Vendocia in Vanwart County, settled in 1848, is gradually coming to recognize the need of English in the church. Vendocia is the latest of the large settlements, here considered, to be established and therefore the last to show signs of the decline of the Welsh language. Strictly speaking, the signs were evident long ago, but they were not discerned by the leaders in the Welsh church. . . . The Radnor settlement, in Delaware County, once a flourishing Welsh community, is now entirely English in society and church. But the inhabitants of the community are almost all people of Welsh blood, being the descendants of the early Welsh settlers who came to Radnor a hundred years ago.

The Welsh church is the great conserver of Welsh forces, linguistic and otherwise. The Welsh church is the last place to give up the Welsh language. When every other branch of social activity and every social circle, including the home, has ceased to use the Welsh language, the church demands it in public worship, even though every sign points to the need of a change. The main reason for this condition is that the older people cling to their mother tongue from sentiment, and the older people control in church affairs. . . .

In Columbus we have this interesting linguistic condition among the children of the Calvinistic Methodist Church, *viz.*, there are more children, and a larger per cent of the children, of five years old and under, who can speak the Welsh language than there are in the next two age groups, *viz.*, those between the ages of six and ten, and eleven and fifteen respectively. The reason for this is that some Welsh parents are faithful in teaching Welsh to their young children in the home, but as soon as the children go to the public schools and begin to associate with other children they pick up English and in a short time they refuse to express themselves in Welsh even at home, and soon thereafter they cannot speak Welsh at all.

One Ohioan, who has been an officer in the Calvinistic Methodist Church for over 40 years in one of the large cities, and who is American born, said to the writer in a conversation on this question: "Our fathers who laid the foundation of our denomination in this country never dreamed of the present condition of things. They believed that our church would always remain Welsh."

Beginning with the twentieth Century things began to change. One sermon a month was preached in English on Sunday evenings. English classes in Sunday School began to multiply. For a time the linguistic struggle waged in Sunday School. Teachers insisted on teaching Welsh to their pupils during the Sunday School hour, and Welsh children left Sunday School because their teachers insisted on their learning Welsh when they knew nothing of Welsh on the street, in the public school nor even in the home. But the strong Welsh prejudice was overcome in the Sunday School as time went on, and to-day about 28, or perhaps more, classes out of 36 are conducted in English. By the latter part of 1907, English sermons were introduced into the Sunday evening service, regularly every Sunday. The Christian Endeavor Society is now carried on entirely in English.

The fond dream of the Welshman of the past has been for a community in America strictly Welsh, uncontaminated by the extraneous influences, and in which the Welsh language might ever flourish. But this is not to be. The process of Americanization will prevail over the

efforts of any foreign group to the contrary. . . . Local groups or communities may try to stay this process, if they will, by clinging to some cardinal custom of their respective father-lands or mother-tongues, but ultimately all must be melted into a uniform American people. — Williams, *The Welsh of Columbus, Ohio*, pp. 109–112, 124, 129, 130, 135, 136.

An example of a growing class is found in the leaders of organized labor. Teachers constitute a class which is growing slowly, both in numbers and in influence. Feminism is an example of growth of influence of the female sex without growth of numbers.

Cycle in an Institution

The cycle through which an institution goes starts with a human need and develops an organization to meet that need. It grows in extent up to the limits of the population which it serves or the limits set by competing institutions. It grows in complexity up to the capacity of human nature to operate it. Each increment of growth means some expected increase in effectiveness; but more than that, it means an outlet for the devotion of the members; growth in an institution, as in a plant, reacts upon it to give strength and prevent decay. But when the limits of growth have been reached, when greater effectiveness in one direction can be secured only by loss in some other, then this invigorative reaction ceases; the effort is no longer to grow but to keep the growth which has already been attained. The look is backward instead of forward. Inventiveness and heroic endeavor become more rare. The organization tends to become institutionized — to keep the form and forget the substance. The human need is largely forgotten; the institution comes to be supported for its own sake as an end in itself. Even old features which are no longer of any use continue to be maintained at a cost of energy which may be sadly needed in other directions. Then, of course, the institution declines. New institutions arise to supply the needs, and perhaps in time to encroach

upon the functions of the old institution. *Grandir ou mourir*, grow or die, seems to be the law of the firmest social organism as well as of physical organisms.

But an institution can be rejuvenated in ways which are impossible to a physical organism. There is no organ so vital to a society but that it can be made over or even discarded altogether and leave its functions to be assumed by other organs. In this respect institutions are more like buildings than organisms; there may be times of general renovation when outgrown structures are discarded and decayed or unsuitable ones made over. By renovation the life of an institution may be prolonged indefinitely, but the cycle of growth, stagnation, and decay is there just the same. During the last third of the nineteenth century Harvard, the oldest college in the United States, was thus rejuvenated so that for a number of years it was the largest institution of its kind in the country and led the way in a number of radical reforms in higher education.

But the rejuvenation of an institution can be accomplished only through conflict between the radical and conservative forces within it. Even an institution as small as a college, and with as capable a leader as President Eliot, must go through conflict before it can get new life. States commonly have to go through war and revolution. Much of what passes under the name of history, possibly the greater bulk of it as written up in literary form, is merely the story of the struggles by which states have been rejuvenated. Russia under Peter the Great, and again to-day, is a case in point. The French Revolution is the most prominent example in modern times, and in ancient times the century of civil war in Rome. The most fortunate way by which a state can get through this internal struggle is to be confronted by some great crisis, say a foreign war, which makes it evident to the most conservative that an internal readjustment is necessary. Ancient Greece and modern Germany illustrate this. The

Persian wars gave the Greeks a new political organization to hold them together for nearly a century, while they did their greatest work for civilization. The transformation of Germany from 1801 to 1871, the most complete perhaps in the history of politics, received its stimulus from two wars with France, beginning at the dictation of Napoleon I and coming to completion after the triumph over Napoleon III. Though it was accompanied all through by bitter internal strife, there was relatively little bloodshed; the one internal war, in 1866, lasted only a month; the nearest approach to a revolution was in Vienna in 1848, and even there the old order never broke down completely. Japan is to-day a new state, not an old one. China, the oldest state of all, is in process of being born again. A radical transformation of some kind would now seem to be due for the British Empire; the war has demanded new kinds of activity, and these are bringing new forms of organization into existence.

. . . I am not sure that the gang ought to be wholly innocent in its activities. When is a boy going to cultivate the less innocent, undovelike but necessary, qualities if he does not get such training in the gang?

. . . A set of boys I knew, who had the sea and woods to play in, and plenty of boats, swimming and baseball, nevertheless found it necessary toward the end of each summer vacation to go on what they called a raid — getting themselves up as tramps, ringing doorbells and demanding food or money, frightening householders or getting them seriously excited, and ending in glorious retreat before the advance of the patrol wagon. . . .

. . . The gang has enemies because enemies are needed in its business; they are a psychological necessity, a prerequisite to its attainment of full self-consciousness. . . . A gang can fully know itself only against the background of a hostile world. — Lee, *Play in Education*, pp. 351–355.

The study which we have made of the psychology of play and sport enables us more easily to understand the psychology of war. The high tension of the modern workaday life must be periodically relieved by a return to primitive forms of behavior. . . . War has always been the release of nations from the tension of progress. Man is a fighting animal; at first from necessity, afterwards from habit. . . .

. . . The warring nation is purified by war, and thereafter, with a

spirit chastened and purged, enters again upon the upward way to attain still greater heights of progress. . . .

In war, society sinks back to the primitive type, the primitive mortal combat of man with man, the primitive religious conception of God as God of battles, and the primitive morality of right as might. It brings rest to the higher brain, it brings social relaxation, it brings release from the high tension which is the condition of progress. . . . — Patrick, *The Psychology of Relaxation*, pp. 244–246.

The question is really one of progress, of what makes progress. Progress, if there be such a thing, certainly must imply the rise from one type or level of action to another, from one system to another system of values. . . . Democratic leveling under the earlier type, natural only when the possibilities have been practically exhausted, *must be a condition of rise to the later*. In other words, as all that has been said here so far has constantly implied, democracy must mark at once the closing stage of an aristocracy of some lower order, *this being an object of its legitimate attack*, and the inception of an aristocracy of some higher order, *this being the proper object of its ideal endeavor*. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 21, p 9, Lloyd, "The Duplicity of Democracy."

Cycle in Civilization

Does civilization itself have a cycle? In so far as the dominant peoples in the world organize their states in the same way, use the same mechanical devices, share in the same commercial system, have a common kind of morality — in short, have one social mind — their civilization as a whole might be expected to go through a cycle. It would be longer than that of a state or any single institution, because when a single institution suffers a collapse, say like France in 1789, its contemporaries help to reëstablish it. They do this partly by design to save themselves from suffering the same fate. The Revolution, and the wars which grew out of it, constituted a recession in the world civilization; but the collapse was not general, and the year 1815 marks the beginning of a new era of progress.

So far there has been only one great cycle of civilization about which we have full information. It is the Græco-

Roman of ancient times. It began about 1000 B.C., grew slowly for five hundred years, then rapidly for the next five hundred; then it declined for five hundred years and ended in collapse.

This downfall of ancient civilization is usually regarded as a unique occurrence, due to special causes. Special causes there were in plenty, such as have come together at no other time, but there is evidence now at hand to show that the experience as a whole was not unique. About 1500 B.C. there was a mature civilization all over the Orient. It covered Egypt, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and the Tigris-Euphrates valley. It was not like our civilization, nor like the Græco-Roman, but it was well developed after its own ideals, as the excavations recently made give abundant proof. Yet by the year 1000 B.C. that Oriental civilization had declined or been swept away, to be replaced everywhere by a cruder social organization until a new civilization could grow. In the island of Crete, for example, the old order disappeared so suddenly that the Cretan language was lost and the inscriptions, which exist in considerable quantity, remain undeciphered to this day. The same thing happened to the Hittites in Syria. But the Babylonian and Egyptian inscriptions have been deciphered, and they tell us more about that civilization of 1000 to 2000 B.C. than is known about the Greeks of 1000 B.C., or the Romans of 500 B.C., or our own Teutonic ancestors of 900 A.D.

There are also traces of other great retrogressions in human progress. Some four or five thousand years before Christ the most advanced people in the Tigris-Euphrates valley were the Accadians, a non-Semitic stock. It was through their subjection and the taking over of their culture by Semitic invaders that the Chaldean or ancient Babylonian civilization began. And then what happened to the Cliff Dwellers in the valley of the Colorado River? To the cities of Yucatan which now lie in ruins? Did the Indians give up the station-

ary life which produced the mounds in order to chase the buffalo and so become nomads again? What became of the Lake Dwellers of Switzerland? Of the Crô-Magnon cave-dwellers in France and Spain who decorated the walls and ceilings of their homes with paintings and whose art perished with them? Conquest by outsiders may be presumed in some of these cases, but the example of the Romans shows us that there may have been internal decay which made the conquest easy.

These few instances — only two about which much is known — do not amount to proof that there is a fifteen-hundred-year cycle in the advance of civilization, or that what we call modern civilization is due to have a general downfall within the next century. But they do show that general recessions have come in the past and should be expected in the future. The hopeful feature in modern civilization is that it has never become unified. Great recessions take place, such as the Hundred Years' War, the Thirty Years' War, and the French Revolution; but being local they leave progress to go on in other countries; civilization as a whole does not collapse, but rather gathers new impetus after each recession.

Socialism appears to-day to be the gravest of the dangers that threaten the European peoples. It will doubtless complete a decadence for which many causes are paving the way, and it will perhaps mark the end of Western civilization. — Le Bon, *The Psychology of Peoples*, p. 225.

Civilization and Secular Cycles in Nature

It was observed a few pages back that the tendency of social life to fall into rhythms or cycles becomes synchronized with rhythms in the natural world such as those which give us the day, the year, and the 8-year and 33-year cycles of rainfall. The theory propounded by Jevons that commercial crises are due to sun-spots may not be so absurd as some economists have tried to make it appear. Ellsworth Hunting-

ton, an American geographer, has given the best part of his life to working out still longer cycles. One of his books has the suggestive title, *The Pulse of Asia*. This, like his other books, gives conclusive evidence that climate is not a fixed characteristic of a region but has its pulsations, chief of which is variation in the amount of moisture. Such variation of course has its effect on society, and Huntington tries to correlate the variations of climate, of which material evidences remain for the geographer to study to-day, with the literary record of disturbances in society which the historians have studied.

. . . The relapse of Europe in the Dark Ages . . . was due apparently to a rapid change of climate in Asia and probably all over the world, — a change which caused vast areas which were habitable at the time of Christ to become uninhabitable a few centuries later. The barbarian inhabitants were obliged to migrate, and their migrations were the dominant fact in the history of the known world for centuries. We of to-day shall do well to ascertain whether we too are not facing the problem which faced the Romans. Parts of China have been growing drier and less habitable during recent centuries, and if the process continues, we are in danger of being overrun by hungry Chinese in search of bread. . . .

. . . The data which I obtained in Central Asia . . . confirm the surmise of the historians. There is a strong reason to believe that during the last two thousand years there has been a widespread and pronounced tendency toward aridity. In drier regions the extent of land available for pasturage and cultivation has been seriously curtailed; and the habitability of the country has decreased. . . . After a period of rapidly decreasing rainfall and rising temperature during the early centuries of the Christian era, there is evidence of a slight reversal, and of a tendency toward more abundant rainfall and lower temperature during the Middle Ages.

In relatively dry regions increasing aridity is a dire calamity, giving rise to famine and distress. These in turn are fruitful causes of wars and migrations, which engender the fall of dynasties and empires, the rise of new nations, and the growth of new civilizations. . . .

The main outlines of the history of Central Asia agree with what would be expected from a knowledge of the changes of climate through which the country has passed. The favorable changes coincide with pe-

riods of prosperity and progress; the unfavorable with depression and depopulation. . . .

. . . Apparently the climate of the earth is subject to pulsations of very diverse degrees of intensity and of varying length. The Glacial Period as a whole represents the largest type of pulsation; upon it are superposed the great pulsations known as glacial epochs, each with a length measured probably in tens of thousands of years; their steady progress is in turn interrupted by smaller changes of climate, such as those of which we have found evidence during historic times in Central Asia; and finally, the climate of the world pulsates in cycles of thirty-six years, and even these are interrupted by seasonal changes and by storms. . . . It is probable, though it has not been demonstrated, that the larger are also due to the same cause. — Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*, pp. 5, 6, 13, 14, 366, 367.

By purely mathematical methods, unaffected by any personal bias, it has been possible to obtain curves indicating the climatic pulsations of the last 3000 years. A comparison of the curves with the results obtained from other lines of evolution, both in America and Asia, shows that in spite of certain disagreements the general climatic history of both continents appears to have been characterized by similar pulsations having a periodicity of hundreds or thousands of years.

Apparently the Southwest has been first relatively inhabitable and then relatively uninhabitable during periods lasting hundreds of years. The dates of these periods are ascertainable from ancient trees. Each propitious period has probably been a time of expanding culture, and comparatively dense population, while the unpropitious periods have been times of invasion, disaster, and depopulation.

In regard to the greater climatic changes, it appears that the pulsations of the past 3000 years are too large to be due to fortuitous rearrangements of the earth's crust. Hence we are led to conclude that they, too, are due to variations in the sun. The same conclusion seems to apply to the glacial and inter-glacial epochs, since their characteristics appear to be identical in nature with those of the pulsations of historic times, although differing greatly in degree. — Huntington, *The Climatic Factor*, pp. 3–5.

Three eras make up the tale of history. Three great pulsations characterize the course of climate during the same period. The eras and the pulsations agree in time. The first era comprises the hazy past when Egpyt and Babylonia were at their greatest. It ends with the chaos of the Aramean migrations. The second spans the life of Israel and Palestine, the Greeks in their islands and peninsula, Italy in the most

western of the great lands of antiquity, and Assyria and Persia far to the east. It also ends in chaos with the migrations of the Barbarians and Mohammedans. The last of these eras had seen the rise of great nations in lands still farther north. Already it has endured twelve eventful centuries. We dare not prophesy how long it yet may last. Perhaps it, too, may end in drought and mighty movements of the races, unless by growing knowledge we avert the ills that hitherto have been man's heritage. — Huntington, *Palestine and Its Transformation*, pp. 403, 404.

Practical Application

Sufficient evidence has doubtless been adduced to show that social changes do run in cycles more or less, although there is lacking the precision of astronomical cycles. The subject is one to which the sociologists have not given much attention so far; greater precision will doubtless be attained in the future. One great principle which the teacher, the statesman, or the social worker of any kind, needs to hold in mind is that there are other cycles besides those set down in the calendar or on the program. There are some which will appear after a short experience, and others perhaps after a long experience. There are probably still others which will remain undiscovered; sometimes all we can do is to look for change of some kind, giving what help we can to have it of the right kind, but having faith that the great underlying forces will do the real work. We must accustom ourselves to look for opposites: on a day when the pupils in school are especially bright and attentive, it is well for the teacher to reflect that some future day will find them listless or mischievous; in a year when the social surroundings seem to be about as bad as possible, we may assure ourselves that they will change sometime and change for the better, though of course they may change for the worse first. The changes which the secular cycles portend may seem too far away to be of practical importance. But with the coming of large-scale organization the range of adjustments for the future has been greatly increased, and we may expect it to be in-

creased still more. Bonds now run for a hundred years and leases of land are made for a thousand years. Statesmen plan for future centuries, and they will plan for future millenniums as soon as science provides a sure basis of knowledge. Educators should be equally far-sighted. When the secular changes come great praise will be given to those persons who began in due time to make adjustments for them. Furthermore, the habit of looking ahead is worth cultivating even though some of the particular forecasts by which it is cultivated may lack practical importance.

Cycles and Progress

According to Heraclitus of old, the world moves by opposites; the law of contradiction is a law of the universe. And many writers of history assert that human progress does not proceed in the path of a straight line, but rather in cycles, or with a to-and-fro movement like the swings of a pendulum. Thus, some 2500 years ago, after the Old, the Middle, and the New Empires of Egypt, each lasting for about a thousand years, had passed away, the world was roused by a new twofold force — the genius of the Greek and the power of the Roman. The Greek-Roman day lasted for about a thousand years also. Then the world went to sleep for another thousand years; the spirit of progress, like the apocalyptic dragon, seemed to be bound in the bottomless pit. But when the required number of days were fulfilled, some five hundred years ago, the world awoke again, perhaps to fall into another slumber five hundred years from now. — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 13, p. 541, Elkin.

. . . The conception of "progress" is a useful conception in so far as it binds together those who are working for common ends, and stimulates that perpetual slight movement in which life consists. But there is no general progress in Nature, nor any unqualified progress; that is to say, that there is no progress for all groups along the line, and that even those groups which progress pay the price of their progress. It was so even when our anthropoid ancestors rose to the erect position; that was "progress" and it gained us the use of hands. But it lost us our tails, and much else that is more regrettable than we are always able to realize. There is no general and ever increasing evolution towards perfection. "Existence is realized in its perfection under whatever aspect it is manifested," says Jules de Gaultier. Or, as Whitman put

it, "There will never be any more perfection than there is now." We cannot expect an increased power of growth and realization in existence, as a whole, leading to any general perfection; we can only expect to see the triumph of individuals, or of groups of individuals, carrying out their own conceptions along special lines, every perfection so attained involving, on its reverse side, the acquirement of an imperfection. It is in this sense, and in this sense only, that progress is possible. We need not fear that we shall ever achieve the stagnant immobility of a general perfection. — Ellis, *Task of Social Hygiene*, pp. vii, viii.

Of course this principle of cycles means that progress toward any goal or ideal which we may set up will be intermittent, swerving now this way and now that, with times of positive loss instead of gain. Even telic progress cannot go far in a straight line. The railroad winds its way to avoid natural obstacles and touch important centers of population.

Of more profound import is the way in which the longer cycles contribute to, or permit, the flow of human energy. Somewhat as the short cycles permit strength to accumulate for large undertakings, or more closely, perhaps, as the short cycles give fresh outlook and new spirit to prosecute large undertakings, so each long cycle has a new set of ideals and gives progress in some new direction. The spirit of the age possesses men's hearts so fully that they are sure the world is now on the right track at last. The leaders see ahead of them, through a long vista of improvements, the perfection of the system in which they are working; that perfection is their goal; each man strives mightily to attain it, or at least to bring the world somewhat nearer toward it. But there is a limit to the progress that is possible in a given direction; it is not perfection, but only an approximation to the ideal, for human capacity is limited. When the limit approaches and it becomes evident that no further progress can be made without exposing fundamental weaknesses in the system, then the downfall or radical reconstruction comes soon, and a new dispensation begins.

The new dispensation, however, is not altogether new. It

adapts much from the old. It finds its new ideals in the visions of seers whom the old dispensation condemned to drink poison, nailed to a cross, burned at the stake, starved in garrets. The seed thoughts are old, but they are planted in a new soil, and yield a new human harvest, richer, as the people who gather it think, than any ever seen before, and of its kind perhaps the best the world ever will see.

It is, therefore, by means of the cycles of change that the idea of progress persists. Just as plants and animals grow by short cycles of anabolism and katabolism, action and eating and sleeping, and just as they are able to progress by the variation of each generation from its predecessor, so also civilization itself keeps up its progress through the centuries and the millenniums by long periods of growth following short periods of recession and readjustment. It is the privilege of the people of each generation to see themselves at a unique turn in the human episode with some principle which they exemplify for all time; what they make out of it will always be, as we say in sports, the world's "record."

The question whether, after all, the world really does progress is not one that can be settled by an intellectual demonstration of any kind. . . .

In short, the reality of progress is a matter of faith. We find ourselves in the midst of an onward movement of which our own spirits are a part, and most of us are glad to be in it, and to ascribe to it all the good we can conceive or divine. This seems the brave thing to do, the hopeful, animating thing, the only thing that makes life worth while, but it is an act rather of faith than of mere intelligence. — Cooley, *Social Process*, pp. 406, 408.

Topics

1. Find other examples of cycles in nature besides those mentioned in the text.

2. Consult the latest authorities about the cycle of sun-spots; of rainfall.

3. An important problem from many points of view is that of the glacial epochs — their cause, whether or not they come at definite intervals, and if they do, what the length of the cycle is and where the present

stands within it. Consult the latest authorities as to the progress which is being made toward the solution of this problem.

4. Review the last chapter of Huntington's *The Pulse of Asia.* A group of students might coöperate and give special reports on other references to Huntington.

5. If access can be had to a file of newspapers running back several weeks, select some important event as far back as possible and study out the successive changes in the nature of the communications relating to it. Consult the weekly and monthly periodicals also.

6. Trace the course of some movement in education or politics which you have studied.

7. Trace some institution with which you are connected through a cycle of change.

8. Does history justify the statement made above about the unique privilege of each generation? Have people, as a matter of fact, commonly thought about themselves in that way? Arrange for a debate on this question, preferably with reference to some period of history which the class has studied recently. Do we to-day so think about ourselves? Ask persons over seventy years of age if they so thought about themselves.

9. Write in full outline the stages of the war-peace cycle. Use data from the present war and preceding wars. Are high prices, for instance, the normal accompaniment of war? If so, how long after the cessation of hostilities do they keep up? Do they come down gradually or suddenly? Admit each step or phase into the outline only as it is supported by several instances drawn from different wars and contradicted by none. Patrick, *The Psychology of Relaxation*, pp. 219–252; Humphrey, *Mankind*, pp. 118–150, 214–223; Veblen, *The Nature of Peace;* the references below to Burton, Jones, and Moore; *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, pp. 1–66, a symposium; pp. 747–753, George; pp. 754–762, Finney.

Problems

1. Is it your experience that a congenial group becomes stale after a time?

2. Is it a helpful philosophy to always look for something to happen just the opposite of what now prevails?

3. Would it be of any present importance to know that another glacial epoch will be due in a thousand years? That the United States a hundred years from now will have only two thirds of the present rainfall? That a commercial crisis will come within the next five years?

See the table on page 283.

4. Has each war that America has seen marked the opening of a new epoch of progress?

5. Elaborate this thought:

. . . It is well to remember that battle and aristocracy, although quite different in their ordinary associations, are after all about as nearly related as two things can be. Democracy, too, is no synonym for peace, but means only preparation for more skill, more efficiency, in conflict. . . . — *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 21, p. 13, Lloyd, "The Duplicity of Democracy."

References

American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 11, pp. 49–59, Ellwood, "A Psychological Theory of Revolutions"; Vol. 13, pp. 541–560, Elkin, "The Problem of Civilization in the Twentieth Century"; Vol. 21, pp. 1–14, Lloyd, "The Duplicity of Democracy"; *ibid.*, pp. 15–29, Yarros, "Human Progress: the Idea and the Reality."

Burton, *Financial Crises and Periods of Industrial and Commercial Depression*, especially pp. 18–48.

Chapin, *Social Evolution*, pp. 140–146.

Cooley, *Social Process*, pp. 30–34.

Croll, *Climate and Time*. Attributes secular changes in climate to the eccentricity of the earth's orbit and the precession of the equinoxes.

Ellwood, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, pp. 170–187.

Geikie, *The Great Ice Age*, pp. 776–816. Discussion of the causes.

Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of Rome*, Chapter XXVI.

Harper's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 132, pp. 919–928, Huntington, "Death's Valley and Our Future Climate."

Humphrey, *Mankind*, pp. 78–96.

* Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, pp. 220–225, climate; pp. 251–270, civilization.

Huntington, *The Climatic Factor*. Based chiefly on observations in America; contains technical data such as measurements of the growth of trees.

Huntington, *Palestine and Its Transformations*, especially pp. 373–404, "Climate and History."

Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*, pp. 1–5, 216–222, 262–279; pp. 38–46, Kashmir; pp. 169–190, Chira; pp. 202–209, Niya; pp. 280–294, Lop-Nor; pp. 309–314, Turfan; pp. 315–328, Iran; pp. 329–358, Caspian Sea. The results are summarized in the last chapter, pp. 359–385, "The Geographic Basis of History."

International Journal of Ethics, Vol. 23, pp. 127–143, MacIver, "Do Nations Grow Old?"

Jones, *Economic Crises*, especially pp. 131–152.
Kelsey, *The Physical Basis of Society*, pp. 45–49.
Moore, *Economic Cycles: Their Law and Cause.*
* Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age*, pp. 32–42. Especially good on the fluctuations of pleistocene climate.
* Patrick, *The Psychology of Relaxation*, pp. v–25, 255–280.
Rogers, *Economic Interpretation of History*, pp. 16, 56, 57, 266. See also his *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* and *History of Agriculture and Prices in England* for the years of famine caused by excessive rainfall.
Sidis, *The Psychology of Sugges ion*, pp. 343–364.
Spencer, *First Principles*, pp. 259–281.
Spencer, *Psychology* Vol. I, pp. 88–91, 95, 274.
Ward, L. F., *Pure Sociology*, pp. 222–231.
Ward, R. DeC., *Climate*, pp. 338–363, "Changes of Climate." Regards the evidence insufficient to show that climate has changed within historical time. Compare with Huntington.
Wright, *The Ice Age in North America.*

SELECT LIST OF BOOKS

THESE are the most useful books for supplementary reading with this volume as a manual. However, not all of the books marked with an asterisk (*) in the chapter reference lists are included here; to include all of those would nearly double the length of this list.

In this list, and in the complete Index of Authors following, the full name and the address of a publisher are given with the first mention, and subsequently only the abridged name is given.

American Journal of Sociology. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill. Bi-monthly.

American Sociological Society, Publications of the. University of Chicago Press. This annual volume of papers and proceedings and the above *Journal* go with membership in the Society. The address of the secretary is 58th Street and Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Bagehot, Walter. *Physics and Politics; or Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of "Natural Selection" and "Inheritance" to Political Society.* D. Appleton & Company, 35 West 32d Street, New York, 1870. Pp. 228.

Bagley, William Chandler. *School Discipline.* The Macmillan Company, 64–66 Fifth Avenue, New York, 1914. Pp. xiv, 259.

Betts, George H. *Social Principles of Education.* Charles Scribner's Sons, Fifth Avenue at 48th Street, New York, 1912. Pp. xvii, 318.

Blackmar, Frank W., and Gillin, John Lewis. *Outlines of Sociology.* Macmillan, 1915. Pp. viii, 586.

Carver, Thomas Nixon. *Sociology and Social Progress.* Ginn & Company, 15 Ashburton Place, Boston, Mass., 1906. Pp. vi, 810. A volume of selections.

Conklin, E. G. *Heredity and Environment in the Development of Men.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J.; revised second edition, 1915. Pp. xiv, 532.

Conn, Herbert William. *Social Heredity and Social Evolution.* The Abingdon Press, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, 1914. Pp. vi, 348.
Cooley, Charles Horton. *Human Nature and the Social Order.* Scribner, 1902. Pp. viii, 413.
Cooley, C. H. *Social Organization: a Study of the Larger Mind.* Scribner, 1909. Pp. xvii, 426.
Cooley, C. H. *Social Process.* Scribner, 1918. Pp. vi, 430.

Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education.* Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xii, 434.

Ellis, Havelock. *The Task of Social Hygiene.* Houghton Mifflin Company, 4 Park Street, Boston, 1912. Pp. xv, 414.
Ellwood, Charles A. *Introduction to Social Psychology.* Appleton, 1917. Pp. xii, 343.
Ellwood, C. A. *Sociology and Modern Social Problems.* American Book Company, 100 Washington Square, New York, 1910; revised and enlarged edition, 1913. Pp. 394.

Giddings, Franklin H. *Descriptive and Historical Sociology.* Macmillan, 1906. Pp. xxiv, 553. Consists largely of selections.
Giddings, F. H. *Principles of Sociology.* Macmillan, 1896. Pp. xxvi, 476.
Gillette, John M. *Rural Sociology.* Macmillan, 1913; revised and enlarged as *Constructive Rural Sociology*, 1917. Pp. xvii, 408.
Grant, Madison. *The Passing of the Great Race, or the Racial Basis of European History.* Scribner, 1916; revised edition, 1918. Pp. xxv, 296.

Hayes, Edward Cary. *Introduction to the Study of Sociology.* Appleton, 1915. Pp. xviii, 718.
Huntington, Ellsworth. *Civilization and Climate.* Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1915. Pp. xii, 333.

Keller, Albert Galloway. *Societal Evolution.* Macmillan, 1915. Pp. x, 338.
Kelsey, Carl. *The Physical Basis of Society.* Appleton, 1916. Pp. xvi, 406.
King, Irving. *Social Aspects of Education.* Macmillan, 1912.

Lee, Joseph. *Play in Education.* Macmillan, 1915. Pp. xxiii, 500.

Parmelee, Maurice. *Poverty and Social Progress.* Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xiv, 477.

Ross, Edward Alsworth. *Foundations of Sociology.* Macmillan, 1905. Pp. xiv, 410.
Ross, E. A. *Social Control.* Macmillan, 1901. Pp. xii, 463.
Ross, E. A. *Social Psychology.* Macmillan, 1909. Pp. xvi, 372.

Scott, Colin A. *Social Education.* Ginn, 1908. Pp. xi, 300.
Small, Albion W. *General Sociology.* University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. xiii, 739.
Sumner, William Graham. *Folkways.* Ginn, 1907. Pp. vi, 692.
Survey, The. Survey Associates, Inc., 112 East 19th Street, New York. Weekly.

Todd, Arthur James. *Theories of Social Progress.* Macmillan, 1918. Pp. xii, 579.
Towne, Ezra Thayer. *Social Problems; a Study of Present-day Social Conditions.* Macmillan, 1916. Pp. xx, 406.

Wallas, Graham. *The Great Society.* Macmillan, 1914. Pp. xii, 383.
Ward, Lester F. *Outlines of Sociology.* Macmillan, 1898. Pp. xii, 301.

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND BOOKS

This Index includes all authors and books from which quotations are taken or to which reference is made. Periodicals and serials are given in a separate list at the close of this one.

Abbott, Grace. *The Immigrant and the Community.* The Century Company, 353 Fourth Avenue, New York, 1917. 184.

Adams, Ephraim Douglas. *The Power of Ideals in American History.* Yale University Press, 1913. 271.

Addams, Jane. *Democracy and Social Ethics.* Macmillan, 1902. 267.

Addams, Jane. *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets.* Macmillan, 1909. 91, 329.

Albright, G. H. 215.

Alexander, Carter. 374.

Allin, Arthur. 297.

Andrews, E. Benjamin. 209.

Avebury. *See* Lubbock.

Averill, L. A. 91.

Ayres, Leonard P. *The Public Schools of Springfield, Ill.* Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22d Street, New York, 1914. 241.

Ayres, L. P., and May. *School Buildings and Equipment,* in Cleveland Education Survey Reports. Russell Sage Foundation, 1916. 35.

Baekeland, L. H. 300.

Bagehot, Walter. 91. *Physics and Politics.* Appleton, 1870. 62, 213, 271, 276, 299, 329, 350.

Bagley, W. C. 272. *Educational Values.* Macmillan, 1911. 62. *The Educative Process.* Macmillan, 1905. 42, 54, 62, 373. *School Discipline.* Macmillan, 1914. 61, 204, 213, 241.

Baker, James H. *Education and Life.* Longmans, Green & Company, Fourth Avenue and 30th Street, New York, 1900. 212.

Baldwin, B. T. 63.

Baldwin, James Mark. *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology.* 3 vols. Macmillan, 1911. 61, 62.

Baldwin J. M. *Social and Ethical Interpretations.* Macmillan, 4th edition, 1906. 148, 304, 330.

Balfour, A. J. 203, 204.

Barrell, Joseph. 299.

Bateson, Wm. *Mendel's Principles of Heredity.* Cambridge University Press, England, 1909. 328.

Bayliss, Mrs. Clara. *Lolami, the Little Cliff Dweller.* Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Ill., 1903. 298.

Beegle, Mary P., and Crawford, J. R. *Community Drama and Pageantry.* Yale University Press, 1916. 91.

Bernheimer, C. S., and Cohen, J. M. *Boys' Clubs.* Baker & Taylor Company, 354 Fourth Avenue, New York, 1914. 120.

Betts, G. H. *Social Principles of Education.* Scribner, 1912. 2, 62, 65, 85, 214, 277, 294, 373.

Bible. Authorized Version, 1611, various editions; Standard American Version, 1901. Thomas Nelson & Sons, 381–385 Fourth Avenue, New York. 322, 347.

Blackmar and Gillin. *Outlines of Sociology.* Macmillan, 1915. 18, 35, 62, 91, 137, 149, 182, 184, 185, 241, 271, 330, 372, 373.

Bliss, D. C. 201.

Bogardus, Emory S. *Introduction to Sociology.* University of Southern California Press, Los Angeles, Cal., 1917. 71, 276, 373.

Bogardus, E. S. *Essentials of Social Psychology*. University of Southern Cal. Press, 1918. 123, 124.
Boodin, John E. 65, 147, 149, 317, 319.
Botsford, George Willis. *A History of the Ancient World*. Macmillan, 1911. 328.
Botsford, G. W. *A Source-Book of Ancient History*. Macmillan, 1912. 328.
Bowen, Louise de Koven. *Safeguards for City Youth at Work and at Play*. Macmillan, 1914. 183–185.
Bradford, Gamaliel. *The Lesson of Popular Government*. Macmillan, 1899. 271.
Breasted, J. H. *See* Robinson and Breasted.
Brinton, D. G. *Races and Peoples*. David McKay, 604–608 South Washington Square, Philadelphia, Pa., 1901. Lectures delivered in 1890. 61, 298, 299.
Bronner, Augusta F. 185.
Brown, Elizabeth V. *When the World Was Young*. World Book Company, Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y. 1905. A reader for primary grades. 298.
Bruère, Robert W. 242.
Buckingham, B. R. 215.
Buckle, Henry Thomas. *History of Civilization in England*. Various editions. Selection in Carver, pp. 174–270. 21, 23, 35.
Bullock, Charles J. *Selected Readings in Economics*. Ginn, 1907. 19, 36, 308, 329, 349.
Burns, A. T. 242.
Burritt, Bailey B. *Professional Distribution of College and University Graduates. Bulletin*, 1912, No. 19. Bureau of Education. 182.
Burton, T. E. *Financial Crises and Periods of Industrial and Commercial Depression*. Appleton, 1902. 400.
Butte, Montana, Report of a Survey of the School System of. Published by the School Trustees of Butte, 1914. 238.

Cahan, Abraham. 186.
Canada, Geological Survey, and 12th International Geological Congress. *Coal Resources of the World*. 3 vols. Morang & Company, Toronto, Canada, 1913. 299.
Canfield, Dorothy. 149.
Carus, Paul. *The Soul of Man*. Open Court Publishing Company, 122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, 1905. 62.
Carver, T. N. 350. *Sociology and Social Progress*. Ginn, 1906. 35, 91, 213, 349.
Castle, William E. *Genetics and Eugenics*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1916. 328, 330, 350, 373.
Chapin, Francis S. *An Introduction to the Study of Social Evolution: the Prehistoric Period*. Century, 1913. 35, 276, 298, 328, 400.
Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. *The Child in the City*. Published by the School, 2559 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, 1912. 180, 181, 183, 373.
Clarke, John. *The School and Other Educators*. Longmans, 1918. 20.
Clodd, Edward. *The Story of "Primitive" Man*. Appleton, 1895. 298.
Cobbe, Frances P. 330.
Coffin, Joseph H. *The Socialized Conscience*. Warwick and York, 19 West Saratoga Street, Baltimore, Md., 1913. 149, 214.
Coffman, Lotus D. 190. *Social Composition of the Teaching Population*. Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1911. 17, 18, 183.
Cohen, J. M. *See* Bernheimer.
Coker, Francis William. *Readings in Political Philosophy*. Macmillan, 1914. 224.
Collier, James. 350.
Collier, John. 80.
Committee for Immigrants in America. 184.
Commons, John R. 273.
Conklin, E. G. *Heredity and Environment in the Development of Men*. Princeton University Press, 1915. 62, 214, 253, 271, 330, 350, 373.
Conn, H. W. *Social Heredity and Social Evolution*. Abingdon Press, 1914. 214, 276, 330, 350, 373.
Cooley, C. H. 256. *Human Nature and the Social Order*. Scribner, 1902. 62, 70, 90, 181, 212, 329.
Cooley, C. H. *Social Organization: a Study of the Larger Mind*. Scribner, 1909. 71, 72, 77, 90, 91, 95, 119, 120, 143, 144, 148, 149, 155, 181, 183, 188,

191, 208, 212–214, 241, 243, 271, 349, 372.
Cooley, C. H. *Social Process.* Scribner, 1918. 39, 183, 272, 276, 280, 398, 400.
Cram, Ralph Adams. *The Nemesis of Mediocrity.* Marshall Jones Company, 212 Summer Street, Boston, Mass., 1917. 212.
Crawford, J. R. *See* Beegle.
Croll, James. *Climate and Time in Their Geological Relations.* Appleton, 1875. 400.
Cronson, Bernard. *Pupil Self-Government: Its Theory and Practice.* Macmillan, 1907. 273.
Crozier, J. B. *Civilization and Progress.* Longmans, 4th edition, 1898. 277.
Cubberley, Ellwood P. 202. *Rural Life and Education.* Houghton, 1914. 182, 241.
Cubberley, E. P., and others. *The Portland Survey.* World Book Company, 1915. 241.

Darwin, Charles. 276, 332. *Origin of Species.* Appleton, 1864. 333, 349.
Davenport, C. B. *Heredity in Its Relation to Eugenics.* Henry Holt & Company, 19 West 44th Street, New York, 1911. 330, 373.
Davenport, Gertrude C. 350.
Davidson, Thomas. *Aristotle and Ancient Educational Ideals.* Scribner, 1900. 297.
Dealey, James Quayle. *Sociology: Its Simpler Teachings and Applications.* Silver, Burdett & Company, 126 Fifth Avenue, New York, 1909. 181, 183, 372, 373.
Deniker, J. *The Races of Man.* Scribner, 1918. 18, 62, 91, 298.
Devine, Edward T. 184. *Misery and Its Causes.* Macmillan, 1909. 184, 373.
De Voss, J. C. *See* Monroe.
Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education.* Macmillan, 1916. 2, 73, 97, 244, 272.
Dewey, John. *The School and Society.* University of Chicago Press, 1899. 212.
Dewey, John, and Evelyn. *Schools of Tomorrow.* E. P. Dutton & Company, 681 Fifth Avenue, New York, 1915. 91, 158, 183, 273.
Dewey, John, and Tufts, J. H. *Ethics.* Holt, 1908. 149, 214.
Dexter, E. G. 29, 35.
Dodd, Wm. E. 183.
Dolbear, Amos. E. *Matter, Ether, and Motion.* E. S. Gorham, 7–11 West 45th Street, New York, 1903. 62.
Dole, C. F. *The Spirit of Democracy.* T. Y. Crowell Company, 426–428 West Broadway, New York, 1906. 272.
Dooley, Wm. H. *The Education of the Ne'er Do Well.* Houghton, 1916. 184.
Dopp, Katharine E. 297. *Industrial and Social History Series.* Rand-McNally & Company, Rand-McNally Building, Chicago, 1903. Text-books for primary grades. Four volumes issued: I. The Tree-Dwellers. II. The Early Cave-Men. III. The Later Cave-Men. IV. The Early Sea-People. 276, 288, 298.
Dresslar, Fletcher B. *Rural Schoolhouses and Grounds. Bulletin,* 1914, No. 12. Bureau of Education. 34, 36.
Dubois, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk.* A. C. McClurg & Company, 330–352 East Ohio Street, Chicago, 1904. 183.
Dugdale, R. L. *The Jukes: a Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease, and Heredity.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2 West 45th Street, New York, 4th edition, 1910. 182.
Dutton, Samuel T. 241.

Earle, Alice Morse. *Home Life in the Colonies.* Macmillan, 1898. 298.
Eliot, Charles W. *American Contributions to Civilization.* Century, 1898. 272.
Eliot, C. W. *Educational Reform.* Century, 1898. 212.
Eliot, Thomas Dawes. *The Juvenile Court and the Community.* Macmillan, 1914. 185.
Elkin, W. B. 350, 371, 373, 396, 400.
Elliott, Edward C. *City School Supervision.* World Book Company, 1914. 232, 235.
Ellis, Havelock. *The Task of Social Hygiene.* Houghton, 1912. 35, 91, 272, 349, 370, 373, 396, 397.
Ellwood, Charles A. 253, 400. *Introduction to Social Psychology.* Appleton, 1917. 62, 149, 214, 330, 373, 400.

Ellwood, C. A. *The Social Problem.* Macmillan, 1915. 276, 298, 301, 313, 370, 373.
Ellwood, C. A. *Sociology and Modern Social Problems.* American Book Company, 1910; revised and enlarged edition. 1913. 18, 181, 330, 350, 361, 372.
Ellwood, C. A. *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects.* Appleton, 1912. 62, 120.
Emerick, C. F. 272.
Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *Essays.* Various editions. 77, 268.
Encyclopædia Britannica. The Encyclopædia Company, New York, 1911. 91.
Everhart, Harold. 370.

Faguet, Émile. *The Cult of Incompetence,* translated from the French by B. Barstow. Dutton, 1916. 263, 270–272.
Fairbanks, Arthur. *Introduction to the Study of Sociology.* Scribner, 3d edition, 1901. 18 36, 149, 181, 214, 328, 330, 350, 372.
Fairchild, Henry P. *Outline of Applied Sociology.* Macmillan, 1916. 18, 185, 241.
Fenton, Frances. 91.
Ferguson, G. E. *The Psychology of the Negro: an Experimental Study,* in Columbia University *Contributions to Philosophy and Psychology,* Vol. 25, No. 1. The Science Press, Sub-Station 84, New York, and Garrison, N. Y., 1916. 61.
Ferris, Helen J. *Girls' Clubs: Their Organization and Management; a Manual for Workers.* Dutton, 1918. 103, 120, 214.
Fieser, J. L. 177.
Finney, Ross L. 399.
Fiske, George W. *Boy Life and Self-Government.* Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, 1910. 53, 120, 216, 264, 273.
Fite, Warner. *Individualism: four Lectures on the Significance of Consciousness for Social Relations.* Longmans, 1911. 149, 272.
Foerster, Norman, and Pierson, W. W. *American Ideals.* Houghton, 1917. A volume of selections. 272.
Forrel, August. 373.

Galton, Francis. *Hereditary Genius.* Macmillan, 1871; new and revised edition, 1900; originally published as two articles, 1865. 330, 350, 373.
Gardiner, C. S. 149.
Gayley, C. M. *Idols of Education.* Doubleday, Page & Company, Garden City, N. Y., 1910. 212.
Geikie, James. *The Antiquity of Man in Europe.* The D. Van Nostrand Company, 25 Park Place, New York, 1914. 298.
Geikie, James. *The Great Ice Age.* Appleton, 3d edition, 1896. 400.
George, W. Henry. 399.
Gesell, Arnold L. 186.
Gesell, A. L., and Beatrice C. *The Normal Child and Primary Education.* Ginn, 1912. 63, 91, 214, 241, 298.
Gettell, Raymond G. *Introduction to Political Science.* Ginn, 1910. 241.
Gettell, R. G. *Readings in Political Science.* Ginn, 1911. 241, 262.
Gibbon, Edward. *Decline and Fall of Rome.* Published 1776–1788; various editions. 400.
Giddings, Franklin H. 27, 61, 84, 272, 317, 350. *Democracy and Empire.* Macmillan, 1900. 61.
Giddings, F. H. *Descriptive and Historical Sociology.* Macmillan, 1906. 19, 36, 61, 91, 149, 214, 242, 330.
Giddings, F. H. *Elements of Sociology,* Macmillan, 1898. 18, 36, 149, 214. 242, 330, 349.
Giddings, F. H. *Principles of Sociology.* Macmillan, 1896. 3, 8, 9, 18, 36, 91, 120, 122, 149, 226, 298, 299, 339, 374.
Gillette, John M. *Rural Sociology,* and *Constructive Rural Sociology.* Sturgis & Walton, 1913, 1917. 18, 36, 90, 184, 186, 329, 372.
Gillette, J. M. *Vocational Education.* American Book Company, 1910. 181, 214, 374.
Gillin, John L. 271. *See* Blackmar.
Goddard, Henry H. *School Training of Defective Children.* World Book Company, 1914. 185.

Goddard, H. H. *The Kallikak Family.* Macmillan, 1912. 172, 175, 182, 185.
Godkin, E. L. 91. *The Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy.* Houghton, 1898. 272.
Goodnow, F. J. *Politics and Administration.* Macmillan, 1900. 242.
Gowin, E. B. *The Executive and His Control of Men.* Macmillan, 1915. 242.
Grabo, C. H. 251, 271.
Grant, Madison. *The Passing of the Great Race.* Scribner, revised edition, 1918. 272, 276, 298, 311, 330, 336, 337, 350.
Greenwood, J. M. 237.
Griggs, Edward Howard. *The Soul of Democracy: The Philosophy of the World War in Relation to Human Liberty.* Macmillan, 1918. 272.
Groos, Karl. *The Play of Man*, translated by J. Mark Baldwin. Appleton, 1901. 63.
Groszmann, M. P. E. *The Exceptional Child.* Scribner, 1917. 183.
Groves, E. R. 62.
Gumplowicz, L. *Outlines of Sociology.* American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, Pa., 1899. 330.
Gunckel, J. E. *Boyville: a History of Fifteen Years' Work among Newsboys.* The Toledo Newsboys' Association, Toledo, O., 1905. 120.
Guyer, M. F. *Being Well Born: an Introduction to Eugenics.* The Bobbs-Merrill Company, University Square, Indianapolis, Ind., 1916. 185, 330, 350, 374..
Guyot, A. H. 21.

Hadley, A. T. *Relations between Freedom and Responsibility in the Evolution of Democratic Government.* Scribner, 1903; later by Yale University Press. 256, 268, 272.
Hall, G. Stanley. 80. *Adolescence,* 2 vols. Appleton, 1904. 46, 63, 180.
Hanna, J. C. 120.
Hanus, Paul H. *Beginnings in Industrial Education and Other Educational Discussions.* Houghton, 1908. 183.
Hanus, P. H. *Educational Aims and Educational Values.* Macmillan, 1899. 212.
Harmsworth, Sir Alfred. 237.
Harrington, James. 224.
Harris, George. *Inequality and Progress.* Houghton, 1897. 190, 225, 252, 272, 330.
Hartman, L. W. 215.
Havemeyer, Loomis. *The Drama of Savage Peoples.* Yale University Press, 1916. 91.
Hayes, Carlton. *British Social Politics.* Ginn, 1913. 204, 272.
Hayes, Edward Cary. 301, 329. *Introduction to the Study of Sociology.* Appleton, 1915. 19, 36, 63, 95, 120, 124, 148, 149, 183–185, 214, 242, 328, 330, 350, 372, 374.
Healy, William. *The Individual Delinquent.* Little, Brown & Company, 34 Beacon Street, Boston, 1915. 185.
Henderson, C. R. 371.
Herbert, S. *First Principles of Heredity.* London, 1910. 330.
Hill, H. C. 184.
Hill, R. C. 112, 120, 184, 214.
Hoag, E. B., and Terman, L. M. *Health Work in the Schools.* Houghton, 1914. 36.
Hobbes, Thomas. *The Leviathan.* Various editions, 1651, and later. 212.
Hobhouse, L. T. *Democracy and Reaction.* Putnam, 1905. 250, 272.
Hollingworth, H. L. *Vocational Psychology: Its Problems and Methods.* Appleton, 1916. 63.
Hollingworth, H. L., and Poffenberger, A. T. *Applied Psychology.* Appleton, 1917. 63.
Hollister, Horace A. *Administration of Education in a Democracy.* Scribner, 1914. 242, 272.
Holmes, Arthur. *The Conservation of the Child: a Manual of Clinical Psychology Presenting the Examination and Treatment of Backward Children.* The J. B. Lippincott Company, East Washington Square, Philadelphia, Pa., 1912. 63, 185.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell. *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.* Various editions. 90.
Hosmer, J. K. *Life of Thomas Hutchinson.* Houghton, 1896. 268.
Howard, G. E. 183, 185.

Hrdlička, A. 299.
Humphrey, Seth K. *Mankind: Racial Values and the Racial Prospect.* Scribner, 1917. 276, 298, 330, 350, 374, 399, 400.
Huntington, Ellsworth. 276, 400. *Civilization and Climate.* Yale University Press, 1915. 24, 36, 63, 378, 379, 400.
Huntington, E. *The Climatic Factor.* The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 16th and P Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., 1914. 374, 400.
Huntington, E. *Palestine and Its Transformation.* Houghton, 1911. 394, 395, 400.
Huntington, E. *The Pulse of Asia.* Houghton, 1907. 36, 393, 394, 399, 400.
Hutchinson, Woods. 237.
Huxley, Leonard. *Life and Letters of Thomas H. Huxley,* 2 vols. Appleton, 1901. 276, 349.
Huxley, T. H. *Man's Place in Nature.* Appleton, 1863. 298.

Ihering, R. von. *Evolution of the Aryan,* translated by Drucker. London, 1897. 298.
International Geological Congress. *See* Canada.

James, William. *The Principles of Psychology,* 2 vols. Holt, 1890. 43, 47, 51.
Jastrow, Joseph. *Character and Temperament.* Appleton, 1915. 37, 44, 51, 57, 61–63, 85, 91, 125, 183, 193, 272.
Jaumann, G. 300.
Jenks, J. W., and Lauck, W. J. *The Immigration Problem.* Funk & Wagnalls Company, 354–360 Fourth Avenue, New York, 3d edition, 1913. 184, 186.
Jessup, Walter A. *The Teaching Staff,* in Cleveland Education Survey Reports. Russell Sage Foundation, 1916. 19, 183.
Jewett, Frances Gulick. *The Next Generation: a Study in the Physiology of Inheritance.* Ginn, 1914. A text-book for the high school. 330, 351.
Johnston, Charles H., and others. *The Modern High School: Its Administration and Extension with Examples and Interpretations of Significant Movements.* Scribner, 1914. 32, 33, 56, 84, 95, 120.
Johnston, Sir H. *The Negro in the New World.* Macmillan, 1910. 184.
Jones, E. D. *Economic Crises.* Macmillan, 1900. 401.
Jordan, D. S., and Kellogg, V. L. *Evolution and Animal Life.* Appleton, 1907. 298, 330, 350, 351.
Josselyn, H. W. 56.
Judd, Charles H. *The Evolution of a Democratic School System.* Houghton, 1918. 273.
Judd, C. H. *Measuring the Work of the Public Schools,* in Cleveland Survey Reports. Russell Sage Foundation, 1916. 57.
Judd, C. H. *The Psychology of High School Subjects.* Ginn, 1915. 72–74.

Keane, Augustus H. *Ethnology.* Putnam, 3d edition, 1901. 19, 298.
Keane, A. H. *The World's Peoples.* Putnam, 1908. 298.
Keasby, L. M. 350.
Keith, Arthur. *The Antiquity of Man.* Lippincott, 1914. 298.
Keller, A. G. *Societal Evolution.* Macmillan, 1915. 19, 36, 134, 148, 150, 276, 297, 299, 302, 306, 313, 329, 330, 332, 342, 348, 349, 351, 357, 359, 360, 362, 366, 368, 374.
Keller, Helen. 67, 72.
Kelly, F. J. *See* Monroe.
Kelly, Florence. *Ethical Gains through Legislation.* Macmillan, 1902. 374.
Kelsey, Carl. *The Physical Basis of Society.* Appleton, 1916. 19, 20, 36, 61, 62, 214, 298, 299, 330, 351, 374, 401.
Khayyám. *See* Omar.
King, Irving. *Education for Social Efficiency.* Appleton, 1913. 120, 141, 273, 374.
King, Irving. *Social Aspects of Education.* Macmillan, 1912. 90, 121, 183, 273, 372.
Kipling, Rudyard, 66.
Kirkpatrick, Edwin A. *Fundamentals of Child Study.* Macmillan, 1907. 63.
Kocourek, Albert. 214.
Kuhns, Oscar. *German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania.* Holt, 1901. 186.

Langerock, Hubert. 214.
Lankester, E. Ray. *The Kingdom of Man.* Holt, 1907. 298.
LeBon, Gustave. *The Psychology of Peoples.* Macmillan, 1898. 213, 375, 392.
Lecky, W. E. H. *Democracy and Liberty,* 2 vols. Longmans, 1896. 143, 272.
Lee, Joseph. *Play in Education.* Macmillan, 1915. 63, 71, 84, 88, 96, 103, 142, 198, 262, 389.
Leopold, Lewis. *Prestige: a Psychological Study of Social Estimates.* London, 1913. 149.
Lloyd, Alfred H. 187, 208, 214, 270, 271, 373, 390.
Locke, John. 209.
Locy, William A. *Biology and Its Makers.* Holt, 1908. 349.
Lowell, A. Lawrence. 384. *Public Opinion and Popular Government.* Longmans, 1918. 149, 272.
Lubbock, Sir John, later Lord Avebury. *Pre-Historic Times.* London, 1865. Chapter I gives his division of archæological time into four periods. 281, 298.
Lull, H. G. 273.
Lusk, Graham. *The Science of Nutrition.* W. B. Saunders Company, West Washington Square, Philadelphia, 1909. 63.

Maclean, Annie Marion. 184.
McManis, J. T. 64.
MacMillan, D. P. 57, 181.
McMurry, C. A. *Conflicting Principles in Teaching and How to Adjust Them.* Houghton, 1914. 63, 79, 214, 219, 242.
McMurry, F. M. *Elementary School Standards.* World Book Company, 1913. 98, 209.
Macy, Jesse. *The English Constitution.* Macmillan, 1897. 123, 220.
Mahin, Helen Ogden. 175.
Mallock, W. H. *Aristocracy and Evolution.* Macmillan, 1898. 181, 329.
Malthus, T. R. *Essay on the Principle of Population.* Various editions. 19, 349.
Martin, E. S. 298.
Marvin, F. S. *The Living Past: a Sketch of Western Progress.* Oxford, 1913. 276, 298.
Maurer, Heinrich H. 184.
Mecklin, J. M. 183.
Metcalfe, T. E. 242.
Michaelis, George V. S. 169.
Mill, John Stuart. *On Liberty.* Various editions. 150, 258, 313.
Mill, J. S. *Representative Government.* Various editions. 248.
Miller, H. A. *The School and the Immigrant,* in Cleveland Education Survey Reports. Russell Sage Foundation, 1916. 185.
Mitchell, David. *Schools and Classes for Exceptional Children,* in Cleveland Survey Reports. Russell Sage Foundation, 1916. 63, 176.
Monroe, Paul. 372. Editor, *Cyclopædia of Education,* 5 vols. Macmillan, 1911–1913. 19, 36, 63, 91, 214, 242, 273, 330, 374.
Monroe, W. S., DeVoss, and Kelly, *Educational Tests and Measurements.* Houghton, 1917. 201, 202, 213, 214.
Montesquieu, C. L. *The Spirit of Laws.* Various editions. 21, 23, 26, 36, 149.
Moore, E. C. 242.
Moore, H. L. 382. *Economic Cycles: Their Law and Cause.* Macmillan, 1914. 380, 401.
Morehouse, Frances M. *The Discipline of the School.* D. C. Heath & Company, 50 Beacon Street, Boston. 1914. 242.
Morgan, Lewis H. *Ancient Society.* Holt, 1877. 285–287, 299.
Morrison, W. D. *Crime and Its Causes.* London, 1891. 22.
Mosby, T. S. *Causes and Cures of Crime.* Mosby Publishing Company, St. Louis, Mo. 1913. 185, 241, 374.
Moseley Commission, The. 158.
Münsterberg, Hugo. *Psychology and the Teacher.* Appleton, 1909. 63.

Nasmyth, George. *Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory: a Study of Force as a Factor in Human Relations.* Putnam, 1916. 276.
National Safety Council, 168 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago. *Sure Pop and the Safety Scouts.* World Book Company, 355.
Nearing, Scott. *Social Adjustment.* Macmillan, 1911. 330, 374.

Nearing, Scott, and Nellie M. S. *Woman and Social Progress: a Discussion of the Biologic, Domestic, Industrial, and Social Possibilities of American Women.* Macmillan, 1912. 351.

Negro Problem, The, by seven authors. James Pott & Company, 214–220 East 23d Street, New York, 1903. 184.

Newbold, William R. 330.

Nida, William L. *Ab, the Cave-Man: a Story of the Time of the Stone Age.* A. Flanagan Company, 521 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, 1911. Adapted from *The Story of Ab,* by Waterloo. 299.

Nitobé, Inazo Ota. *Bushido, the Soul of Japan.* Putnam, 1905. 123, 150.

Nordau, Max S. *Degeneration.* Appleton, 7th edition, 1895. 181.

Norsworthy, Naomi. *See* Strayer and Norsworthy.

Omar Khayyám. *Rubáiyát,* Fitzgerald's 3d edition. Various publishers. 294.

Osborn, Henry Fairfield. *From the Greeks to Darwin.* Columbia University Press, 1899. 349, 401.

Osborn, H. F. *Men of the Old Stone Age.* Scribner, 1915. 276, 280, 283, 285, 299, 377.

O'Shea, M. V. *Social Development and Education.* Houghton, 1909. 61, 63, 90, 91, 121, 127, 136, 148, 181, 227, 241.

Page, Thomas Nelson. *The Negro the Southerner's Problem.* Scribner, 1904. 184.

Park, R. E. 100, 168.

Parker, G. H. *Biology and Social Problems.* Houghton, 1914. 63, 330, 351.

Parmelee, Maurice. *Poverty and Social Progress.* Macmillan, 1916. 184, 330, 374.

Parmelee, Maurice. *The Science of Human Behavior.* Macmillan, 1913. 41, 48, 63.

Parsons, Elsie Clews. *Social Rule.* Putnam, 1916. 63.

Partridge, G. E. *Outline of Individual Study.* Sturgis & Walton, 1910. 64.

Patrick, G. T. W. *The Psychology of Relaxation.* Houghton, 1916. 64, 380, 390, 399, 401.

Patten, Simon N. *The New Basis of Civilization.* Macmillan, 1907. 183.

Perry, A. C. *The Status of the Teacher.* Houghton, 1912. 183.

Perry, C. A. 95.

Pittenger, B. F. 183.

Poincaré, Henri. *The Foundations of Science.* Science Press, 1913. 318.

Pope, Alexander. *An Essay on Man.* Various editions. 1, 45, 49.

Popenoe, Paul, and Johnson, R. H. *Applied Eugenics.* Macmillan, 1918. 331, 351.

Poulton, E. B. *Darwin and His Theory of the Origin of Species.* Longmans, 1909. 349.

Powell, Lyman P. and Gertrude W. *The Spirit of Democracy.* Rand-McNally & Company, 1918. A volume of selections for declamation. 273.

Puffer, J. Adams. *The Boy and His Gang.* Houghton, 1912. 121.

Rainsford, W. S. 185.

Ratzel, Friedrich. 22.

Ravage, M. E. *An American in the Making: the Life Story of an Immigrant.* Harper, 1917. 168, 185.

Reuter, E. B. 183.

Richmond, Mary E. *Social Diagnosis.* Russell Sage Foundation, 1917. 183.

Riis, Jacob. *The Making of an American: an Autobiography.* Macmillan, 1904. 185.

Ripley, William Z. *The Races of Europe.* Appleton, 1899. 276, 299.

Ritchie, David G. *Principles of State Interference.* Swan, Sonnenschein & Company, London, 1899. 142, 371.

Robbins, Charles L. *The School as a Social Institution: an Introduction to the Study of Social Education.* Allyn & Bacon, 50 Beacon Street, Boston, 1918. 215.

Robinson, James Harvey. 299, 300.

Robinson, J. H., and Breasted, J. H. *Outlines of European History,* Part I. Ginn, 1914. 299.

Rogers, J. E. T. *The Economic Interpretation of History.* Putnam, 1888. 401.

Ross, Edward A. 57, 73, 91, 149, 154, 165, 182, 191, 205, 208, 214, 230, 241,

244, 257, 317, 321, 324, 329, 350. *Changing America.* Century, 1912. 91, 183, 272, 336, 351.
Ross, E. A. *Foundations of Sociology.* Macmillan, 1905. 64, 149, 300, 305, 306, 313, 323, 328, 331, 349, 351, 372.
Ross, E. A. *The Old World in the New.* Century, 1914. 61, 185, 349.
Ross, E. A. *Social Control.* Macmillan, 1901. 86, 148, 181, 197, 203, 212, 215, 240, 241, 329, 374.
Ross, E. A. *Social Psychology.* Macmillan, 1908. 90, 149, 331.

Santayana, George. *The Life of Reason,* 5 vols. Scribner, 1905. 68, 210.
Sayce, A. H. *Introduction to the Science of Language,* 2 vols. London. First edition, 1879; 4th edition, 1899. 91, 299, 331.
Schmoller, G. 350.
Schoff, Hannah Kent. *The Wayward Child: a Study in the Causes of Crime.* Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1915. 179, 185.
School Citizens' Committee, 2 Wall Street, New York. Supplies literature relating to self-government in schools. 273.
Scott, Colin A. *Social Education.* Ginn, 1908. 65, 90, 91, 115, 121, 149, 190, 215, 242, 264.
Seager, H. R. *Social Insurance.* Macmillan, 1910. 374.
Semple, Ellen. *Influences of Geographic Environment.* Holt, 1911. 22, 24, 36.
Shaler, N. S. 36. *Man and the Earth.* Fox, Duffield & Company, New York, 1905. 276, 300.
Sidis, Boris. *The Psychology of Suggestion.* Appleton, 1898. 149, 237, 401.
Simmel, George. 97, 214.
Sims, N. L. 373.
Skinner, E. B. *The Mathematical Theory of Investment.* Ginn, 1913. 290.
Small, Albion W. *General Sociology.* University of Chicago Press, 1905. 36, 38, 41, 44, 46, 49, 149, 183, 276, 331, 351, 369.
Smith, Walter R. 329. *An Introduction to Educational Sociology.* Houghton, 1917. 95, 121.
Snedden, D. S., and Allen, W. H. *School Reports and School Efficiency.* Macmillan, 1908. 242.
Spargo, John. *Americanism and Social Democracy.* Harper, 1918. 272.
Spencer, Herbert. *Autobiography,* 2 vols. Appleton, 1904. 276.
Spencer, Herbert. *Essays: Scientific, Political and Speculative,* 3 vols. 300, 349, 351.
Spencer, Herbert. *First Principles.* Appleton, 1864; 4th edition, 1880. 401.
Spencer, Herbert. *The Principles of Psychology,* 2 vols. Appleton, 3d edition, 1880. 401.
Spencer, Herbert. *The Principles of Sociology,* 3 vols. Appleton, 1885–1897. 62.
Spencer, Herbert. *Social Statics.* Appleton. First published 1850; revised edition printed in the same volume with *Man vs. the State,* 1897. 37, 368.
Spencer, Herbert. *The Study of Sociology.* Appleton, 1875. 376.
Spiller, G. 294.
Stableton, J. K. 260.
Starch, Daniel. *Educational Measurements.* Macmillan, 1916.
Starr, Frederick. *Some First Steps in Human Progress.* Chautauqua Press, Chautauqua, N. Y. 281, 299.
Stein, Ludwig. 218.
Steiner, E. A. *From Alien to Citizen.* Fleming H. Revell & Company, 158 Fifth Avenue, New York, 1914. 185.
Stephenson, G. T. *Race Distinctions in American Law.* Appleton, 1910. 184.
Stone, A. H. *Studies in the American Race Problem.* Doubleday, Page & Company, 1908. 184.
Strayer, Henry D. 36.
Strayer and Norsworthy. *How to Teach.* Macmillan, 1917. 58, 60, 61, 64.
Strayer and Thorndike. *Educational Administration.* Macmillan, 1913. 100, 156, 182.
Sumner, William G. *Folkways.* Ginn, 1907. 34, 141, 148, 181, 183, 339, 341, 350, 351, 372, 374.
Sumner, W. G. *What the Social Classes Owe Each Other.* Harper, 1883. 273.
Super, C. W. *A Liberal Education.* C. W. Bardeen, Syracuse, N. Y., 1907 212.

Tarde, Gabriel. 84.
Taylor, Isaac. *Origin of the Aryans.* London, 2d edition, 1889. 299.
Terman, Lewis M. *The Measurement of Intelligence.* Houghton, 1917. 64.
Thomas, W. I. *A Source-Book for Social Origins.* University of Chicago Press, 1909. 299.
Thomson, J. Arthur. *Heredity.* Putnam, 1907. 331.
Thoreau, H. D. 70.
Thorndike, Edward Lee. *Education, a First Book.* Macmillan, 1912. 19, 41, 47, 49, 231.
Thorndike, E. L. *Educational Psychology,* 3 vols. Lemcke & Buechner, 30–32 West 27th Street, New York, 1903. 64.
Thorndike, E. L. *Individuality.* Houghton, 1911. 64.
Thorndike, E. L. *An Introduction to the Theory of Mental and Social Measurements.* Science Press, 1904. 64.
Thring, E. T. *Education and School.* Macmillan & Company, London, 1867. 81.
Todd, Arthur James. *Theories of Social Progress.* Macmillan, 1918. 36, 64, 91, 149, 276, 300, 331, 351, 354, 368, 371, 372, 374.
Tolstoi, L. N. *War and Peace.* Various editions. 273.
Towne, Ezra Thayer. *Social Problems.* Macmillan, 1916. 19, 36, 61, 184, 185, 242, 374.
Treitschke, Heinrich von. *Politics,* translated from the German, 2 vols. Macmillan, 1916. 36, 165, 183, 224, 226, 270, 346.
Tufts, J. H. *See* Dewey. *Our Democracy: Its Origin and Tasks.* Holt, 1917. 273.
Turner, F. J. 308.
Tyler, John M. *Growth and Education.* Houghton, 1907. 64.

Vandewalker, Nina C. 297.
Vaughan, Victor C. 179, 180.
Veblen, Thorstein B. *An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace and the Terms of Its Perpetuation.* Macmillan, 1917. 399.
Veblen, T. B. *The Theory of the Leisure Class.* Macmillan, 1899. 153.
Vierkandt, A. 372.
Vincent, George E. 186, 350. *Social Mind and Education.* Macmillan, 1897. 212.
Vogt, Paul L. *Introduction to Rural Sociology.* Appleton, 1917. 36.

Wagner, A. *Lehrbuch der Politischen Oekonomie.* 3d edition. Leipzig, 1893. 334.
Wallas, Graham. *Human Nature in Politics.* Houghton, 1909. 365.
Wallas, Graham. *The Great Society.* Macmillan, 1914. 50, 53, 64, 65, 71, 82, 84, 90, 98, 216, 223, 235, 268, 276, 294, 299, 360.
Ward, Lester F. 350. *Applied Sociology.* Ginn, 1906. 181, 273, 372, 374.
Ward, L. F. *Dynamic Sociology,* 2 vols. Appleton, 2d edition, 1896. 91.
Ward, L. F. *Outlines of Sociology.* Macmillan, 1898. 299, 352, 372.
Ward, L. F. *Psychic Factors of Civilization.* Ginn, 1906. 41, 372.
Ward, L. F. *Pure Sociology.* Macmillan, 1903. 38, 64, 181, 299, 329, 331, 346, 349, 371, 372, 401.
Ward, Robert deC. *Climate Considered especially in Relation to Man.* Putnam, 1908. 36, 401.
Warming, Louis. 350.
Warner, A. G. 185. *American Charities.* Crowell, revised edition, 1919. 184.
Washington, Booker T. *The Story of the Negro,* 2 vols. Doubleday, Page & Company, 1909. 184.
Waterloo, Stanley. *The Story of Ab: a Tale of the Time of the Cave-Man.* Doubleday, Page & Company, 1905. 299.
Wells, D. Collin. 350.
Wells, H. G. *Mr. Britling Sees It Through.* Macmillan, 1917. 197, 208, 325, 326, 338.
Weyl, Walter E. *The New Democracy.* Macmillan, 1912. 183, 191, 210, 273, 370, 374, 384.
Whipple, G. M. 59, 63.
Whittier, J. G. *Snow Bound.* Various editions. 23, 35.
Wiener, William. 84.
Williams, C. W. 223.
Williams, Daniel Jenkins. *The Welsh of Columbus, Ohio.* Published by the author. 385–387.

Willoughby, W. W. *An Examination of the Nature of the State: a Study in Political Philosophy*. Macmillan, 1896. 242.
Wilson, W. H. 18.
Winship, A. E. *Jukes-Edwards: a Study in Education and Heredity*. R. L. Myers Company, Harrisburg, Pa., 1900. 182.
Winsor, Justin. *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8 vols. Houghton, 1889. 36.
Wissler, Clark. *The American Indian: an Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World*. McMurtrie, 1917. 299.
Wister, Owen. *The Virginian*. Macmillan, 1904. 252.
Wolfe, A. B. *Readings in Social Problems*. Ginn, 1916. A volume of selections. 19, 184, 186, 374.
Woods, Elizabeth. 60, 177.
Woods, Erville B. 185, 299.
Woods, F. A. 331.
Woods, Robert A. 163.
Wright, G. Frederick. *The Ice Age in North America and Its Bearings upon the Antiquity of Man*. Appleton, 1900. 401.
Wundt, Wilhelm Max. 125.

Yarros, V. S., 241, 400.

INDEX OF PERIODICALS AND SERIALS

American Economic Association, Publications of the. Ithaca, N. Y. 27, 317.

American Economic Review. Quarterly. American Economic Association, Ithaca, N. Y. 153. The *Review* and the *Publications* go with membership in the Association.

American Journal of Sociology. Bimonthly. University of Chicago Press. 35, 61, 62, 65, 73, 91, 97, 100, 147, 149, 154, 165, 168, 181–187, 191, 205, 208, 212, 214, 218, 227, 230, 241, 244, 257, 270, 271, 273, 288, 294, 299, 301, 317, 319, 321, 324, 329, 350, 369, 371–373, 390, 396, 399, 400.

American Magazine, The. Philips Publishing Company, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York. 179, 186.

American Sociological Society, Publications of the. Annual volume of papers and addresses. University of Chicago Press. 18, 91, 184, 350. The *Journal* and the *Publications* go with membership in the Society. The secretary's address is 58th Street and Ellis Avenue. Chicago.

American Year Book, The. Appleton. 297.

Bookman, The. Dodd, Mead & Company, Fourth Avenue and 30th Street, New York. 186.

Britannica Year-Book, The. Encyclopædia Britannica Company, 120 West 32d Street, New York. 297.

Census. See United States.

Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy and Psychology. The Science Press, Sub-Station 84, New York, and Garrison, N. Y. 61.

Congressional Record. See United States.

Educational News Bulletin. Wisconsin State Department of Education, Madison, Wis. 60, 177.

Educational Review, The. Educational Review Publishing Company, Columbia University, New York. 57, 91, 112, 120, 177, 185, 214, 237, 241, 272, 297, 330.

Evening Post, The. 20 Vesey Street, New York. 268, 269, 327.

Extension. Catholic Church Extension Society, 332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago. 334.

Forum, The. Forum Publishing Company, 118 East 28th Street, New York. 330.

Goldthwaite's Geographical Magazine. W. M. Goldthwaite, New York, 1891. 297.

Harper's Monthly Magazine. Harper, New York. 298, 400.

Harvard University, Official Register of. Published by the University, Cambridge, Mass. 384.

Independent, The. The Independent Corporation, 118 West 40th Street, New York. 183, 223, 242, 353.

International Journal of Ethics, The. University of Chicago Press. 253, 272, 400.

International Year Book, The New. Dodd, Mead & Company, New York. 297.

Iowa, University of, Studies in Education. Iowa City, Iowa.

Journal of Educational Psychology. Warwick and York, Hershey, Pa., and Baltimore, Md. 10, 63.

Ladies' Home Journal. Curtis Publishing Company, Philadelphia. 237.

Michigan Alumnus, The. Alumni Association of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 163.

National Conference of Social Work publishes annual volume of *Proceedings*. General secretary, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago. 183.

National Education Association, annual volume of *Proceedings*. Secretary, 1400 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 273.

National Society for the Study of Education, Yearbook of the. Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Ill. 18, 19, 36, 59, 63, 201, 214.

New York Times, The. 13–21 Park Row, New York. 79, 135, 358.

Outlook, The. The Outlook Company, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York. 149, 158, 170, 185, 239, 242, 273, 299.

Political Science Quarterly, edited by the faculty of Columbia University. Ginn, New York. 272.

Poole's Index, 1902 the latest. Houghton, 273.

Popular Science Monthly, The. The Modern Publishing Company, 225 West 39th Street, New York. 272, 331.

Psychological Review, The. Psychological Review Company, Lancaster, Pa., and Princeton, N. J. 29 (Monograph Supplement), 35, 61.

Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature. The H. W. Wilson Company, 958–964 University Avenue, New York. 186, 272, 273.

School and Home Education. Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Ill. 190, 209, 242, 362, 366.

School and Society. Science Press, Garrison, N. Y. 64, 121, 183, 215, 242, 268, 272, 331, 374.

Scientific Monthly, The. Science Press, Garrison, N. Y. 299, 374.

Scribner's Magazine. Scribner, New York. 300.

Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 299, 300, 328.

Statesman's Year-Book, The. Macmillan & Company, London. 297.

Statistical Abstract. *See* United States.

Survey, The. Survey Associates, 112 East 19th Street, New York. 80, 163, 169, 213, 242, 256, 265, 273, 300, 370.

United States. The following publications come from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. They may be purchased, but are also for free distribution by the respective bureaus issuing them or by members of Congress:

Bureau of the Census. *Abstract of the Thirteenth Census*. 6, 12, 16–18, 349.
Twelfth Census, Occupations. 16, 18.

Bureau of Education. *Bulletins*. 34–36, 182, 185, 186, 213, 241, 273.
Report of the Commissioner of Education. 273.

Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*. 17.

Congressional Record. 346.

Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the. 299, 300, 328.

Western Teacher, The. S. Y. Gillan, 141 Wisconsin Street, Milwaukee, Wis. 175.

Yale Review. Yale Publishing Association, New Haven, Conn. 209.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Abolish the school system, 237.
Abstract study of society, 1.
Abstraction of relations, 210.
Accadians subjected by Semites, 391.
Accountable for actions, 258.
Accounts audited, 233.
Action, and life, 39; specific kinds of, 42.
Adaptability most needed in a new teacher, 205.
Adaptation of the old in revolutions, 209.
Adjustment, to environment, 53; by instinct or education, 53, 54; between two persons, 53, 54; finer, needed, 324.
Administration by an assembly, 246–248.
Administrator, depends on memory or records, 221, 222; uses prearrangement or supervision, 222; expert, and democracy, 250.
Adults, congenial groups of, 101, 116–118.
Advice, willingness to take, 205.
Advisers, faculty, 111; student, for freshmen, 112.
Age distribution, of population, 11–15; chart, 12; of teachers, stenographers, lawyers, and bankers, 16, 17; of juvenile delinquents, 180.
Agglomeration, 305, 315, 318, 328.
Aggregation of people, 3–5.
Agreements based on human nature or socially determined, 124.
Alexander the Great, choice of, for a career of conquest, 364.
Algebra in the curriculum, 365.
Aliens must be Americanized, 170.
Alphabetical order of names influences standings of students, 209.
Alpines, broad headed, 335; a race of peasants, 337.
Ambition, direction of, socially determined, 123.
American, Association of University Professors, 162; Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, 164; idea of democracy, 252; boy, qualities of, 267, 268; families, index of the traits of, 357.
Americanization, 170.
Americans not abstract, 210.
Amusements, cycle of, 139.
Anabolism, alternates with katabolism, 377.
Analytical study of society, 275.
Anarchists, *vs.* socialists, 260–263; less room for, 291.
Anarchy, freedom tends toward, 207; confused with democracy, 253.
Anatomy, distinctive features of man's, 48.
Angell, J. B., 256.
Annuities, 290.
Antagonist forces cause rhythm between opposites, 377.
Anthropology as a study for children, 288.
Antipathy, and communication, 88, 89; in school, 89.
Antithesis between individual and society, 210–212.
Approval of others, 192.
Archæological time, 280–282; chart of, 283.
Archæology and geology, 283–285.
Architecture, school, 32, 35.
Aristocratic, government must be, 224.
Aristocracy, superficialities of, 153; natural, 224; discussion regarding, 243; and public service, 244; and equality, 252; served by democracy, 270; new, after a democratic leveling, 390; related to battle, 400.
Aristocrats admit the new rich, 154.
Aristotle, modern schoolboys superior to, 125; the best educated man, 297.
Army, use of intelligence tests in, 60.
Art as form of communication, 76, 77.
Artist, material for, in a backward community, 167.
Asia, archæological remains in, 282; drying up of central, 309, 393.
Assembly, general, exercises all government functions, 245–248.
Assimilation, following communication, 84; by attraction, 86; by coercion, 87.

Association of Men Teachers and Principals, 135.
Associative memory the basis of intelligence, 47.
Astronomers forecast but cannot control, 365.
Athenians, theater of, 79.
Athletic team punishes for cheating, 136.
Athletics, leaders in, 147; and vandalism, 259, 260.
Attendance, and weather, 29; officer, 177; and the curriculum, 258.
Audit, of accounts, 229, 233; of school work, 234.
Australia, planning capital of, 358.
Authority necessary to progress, 218.
Autocracy the easier way to rule, 269.
Automobile, 314.
Average opinion *vs.* that of the most competent, 143–147.

Babylonian civilization, 391.
Backward, communities, 166–171, 186; children, 177; look, the, 277–287; value of, 287, 288.
Ballots, count of, at class election 264.
Baltic race being displaced, 335.
Bankers, age distribution of, 16.
Barbarism as a stage of culture, 286.
Barriers protect or isolate, 27.
Baseball, rural team of, 74, 75; among boys, 102; played by a girl, 106; leadership in, 146, 147; government in, 218; effect of, on school, 257; and anarchy, 262; leaders in, tried out, 344.
Basket ball, two managers of, 231.
Battle, cycle of reports of, 382; and aristocracy, 400.
"Batty Bunch," the, 113.
Baulked disposition, 53.
"Belonging" instinct, the, 194.
"Better Babies," "Better boys," 357.
Bias of a class, 230.
Bills itemized, 228–231.
Binet-Simon tests, 59–63, 200, 213.
Biological terms, 301.
Birmingham, 25.
Births, rate of, in several countries, 334.
Blond race, displaced by others, 335.
Bloomington, paint episode in, 259, 260.
Boarding schools, congenial groups at, 110–112.
Board of education, 135.
Bohemian settlement, 152.
Bond city for new schools, 132.
Boston a state of mind, 125.
Bourgeoisie, 150.
Boy policemen, 265, 273.
Boy Scouts, 360.
Boys' groups, 101–103; leader of, 192.
Brain, comparative weights of, 48; the organ of adaptation, 313.
Bronze Age, 281.
Buildings, school, 31–34; burned, 32, 187.
Bureau of Municipal Research, 236, 239.
Bushido, 150.
Business, use of intelligence tests in, 60; qualities of a man of, 223.
Butte, school survey of, 238.

Calendar made by climate, 22, 23, 35.
California, settlement of, 8.
Canals, control of, 359.
Capital, location of, 23, 302; planning of, for Australia, 358.
Career, suited to capacity, 157; man's, on the earth, Chapter X.
Carnegie, Foundation, 236; Station for Experimental Evolution, 357.
Castes, *vs.* open classes, 151–158; justification for, 166; principle of, 172; weakened, 254.
Catholic, views of education, 134; families larger than Protestant, 335.
Causes, infinitely numerous, 318; of social mind, 124; of variation, 305.
Cave-men, 282, 288.
Cavour, 269.
Celibacy, result of, on quality of population, 356.
Centralization and progress, 328.
Cerebral weights, ratio of, 48;
Change, by indirection, 210; in the past, 278–287; in the future, 289–293; and progress, 301; method and causes of, 304–324.
Character, shaped by personality, 77; types of, in organizations, 197.
Chemistry of the mind, 37.
Children, percentage of, in the population, 13–15; work and play in groups, 46; number in one school. 98; congenial groups of, 101; "belonging" instinct in, 194–196; factors reducing the number of, 333; number to each Harvard graduate, 335.

China, the hermit kingdom, 27; dense population in, 307; being born again, 389; growing drier, 393.
Chivalry, 150.
Christianity and race, 323.
Christ-like spirit of democracy, 245.
Church, lost influence, 100; the conserver of foreign language, 386.
Churches, numerous, 255; competition between, 346.
Cities, and universities, 9; with iron works, 25; segregate the poor, 168; a measure of social telesis, 366.
City, life compared with rural, 18, 35; changes social organization, 99; planning, 358.
Civil, government, 219; laws, 135; service and democracy, 250.
Civilization, influenced by climate, 23, 24; the issue of human qualities, 37; progress of, 213; replacing barbarism, 291; must become more rational, 368; cycle in, 390–392; and secular cycles in nature, 392–395.
Class, consciousness, 150, 151; open *vs.* caste, 151–158; teachers as a, 158–162; the educated as a, 162–165; of the "masses," 165, 166; the governing, 223–231; dwindling of the middle, 321.
Class in recitation, social mind of, 127–130; special, for backward children, 177; votes punishment, 264.
Classes, based on wealth, 154–156; and education, 156–158; government an affair of, 223; shifting of, in a school, 321, 322.
Classification of varieties of human nature, 55–58.
Cleveland, school survey of, 238.
Climate, influences society, 22–24; pulsations in, 393–395; evidence for, 401.
Cliques, 98, 107, 108.
Clothes and the moral code, 137.
Clubs in a school, 194–196.
Coal, exhaustion of, 292.
Code of a social class, 150.
Coercion, of nonconforming membe s, 198; *vs.* freedom, 253–256; fosters anarchism, 260; in socialism, 262.
Cold climate, influence of, 23.
Collective activity, extension of, 366, 367.
College, defective student in, 175; graduates, number and influence of, 163; distribution of, 182; fraternities, 111, 112; song or yell, 141.
Colleges, North Central Association of, 9.
Colorado climate, 29.
Colored children in school, 151, 152.
Combat, summons to, 348.
Combination and liberty, 367.
Commencement, change in meaning of, 323.
Committees, members of, indifferent, 268.
Communication, Chapter IV; meaning of, in sociology, 65; and individual development, 66, 67; silent, in literature, 69; mechanism of, 71–80; nonverbal, 76, 77; personal and impersonal, 82; reaction to, 84–89, 211; always incomplete, 86; brings attraction, 86; differentiation, 87; antipathy, 88; between competitors, 88; between opponents, 89, 211; based on sympathy, 117; the stream of, 130, 131; modern, unfavorable to mobs, 138; makes life competitive, 156; and democracy, 245, 248; variation in, 313–315; improved, unfavorable to child rearing, 336; and natural selection, 339; telic selection in, 357; unified system of, most efficient, 359; cycle in, 382.
Communities, backward, 166–171; of Welsh immigrants, 385–387.
Companions, imaginary, 68–70.
Compensations of a teacher, 162.
Competition, a form of natural selection, 332; between teachers, 343; in politics or business, 347.
Competitive feature of modern life, 156.
Complex society, mobs intolerable in, 138.
Conditions necessary, for democracy, 249; for variation, 305.
Conduct, and the weather, 29; conditioned by opinions of others, 123.
Conflict, an outlet for energy, 40; a cause of change, 325, 326; the, theory of society, 372; an institution goes through, 388.
Conflict in requirements of civilization, 368.
Congenial association, necessary, 108, 109; fostered, 111; apart from groups, 116–118; in education, 118, 119.
Congenial groups, 100–116; size of, 100; of boys, 101–103; of girls, 103–105; mixed, 105, 106; in a rural school, 106,

107; influence of, on a school, 107–110; at boarding schools, 110–112; and discipline, 112–115; must grow, 115, 116; subject to natural selection, 340; go through cycles of change, 382.
Congress appropriates for merchant marine, 359.
Conscience, acquired by education, 123, 124; grows out of social experience, 136.
Consciousness, of kind, 4; of another person makes a social situation, 65; a kind of theater, 136.
Conservation, of human life, 354; of natural resources, 358.
Conservatism, of governments, 325; and liberalism alternate, 375.
Conservative influence of numerous memberships, 190, 255.
Consolidated schools, 33, 34.
Constitution, the English, 203.
Constitutions, written, 220.
Contact and cross-fertilization of cultures, 306, 314.
Contests, 40; between schools, 143, 202, 258, 326; expenses of representatives at, 228, 229.
Continuation schools in Wisconsin, 133.
Continuity in social organization, 302.
Continuous variation, 304, 308; in social classes, 320; in institutions, 322, 323.
Contract, limit to power of, 257.
Control, instinct of, 49, 50; over war and disease, 291; over resources of nature, 292; new system of, coming, 368.
Conventional, the, makes the moral, 137.
Conversation, foremost of language arts, 75; and "news," 131.
Coöperation and specialization, 189.
Cooking club, 75, 76.
Corey, city of, 358.
Corporations, representative government of, 249; smaller, combined, 367.
Cosmopolitan club, 5.
Cost, comparative, of city and rural schools, 10.
Counting heads, 142.
Craze, examples of, 139.
Crime, prevented by broadening the mind, 41; removing the causes of, 179; juvenile, 180.
Criminal, class, 172, 178–180, 240; anarchist may become, 260.
Criminals, references on, 185.
Crô-Magnon race, 283, 285, 392.
Cross-fertilization, of minds, 66; of cultures, 314, 315, 318.
Crowds, experience with, 138.
Crusades, relieved monotony of medieval life, 40; as example of the war-peace cycle, 381.
Culture, new type of, 212; early stages of, 286.
Curiosity, instinct of, 48.
Curriculum, the, 35; language arts in, 73; and the social mind, 148; and attendance, 258; persistence of old studies in, 365.
Custom, power of, 364.
Cycle, of amusements through the year, 139; from formalism to anarchy, 207; nature works on the basis of, 376; daily, 379; of seasons, 380; of a generation, 380–382; in communication and the social mind, 382–384; in an institution, 387–390; in civilization, 390–392.
Cycles, of change, Chapter XV; in nature, 376–379; secular, in nature, 392–395; and progress, 396–398.

Daily, papers, 74, 75; cycle of activity, 379.
Dancing causes ostracism of a teacher, 137.
Darwinian theory, science of society must rest on the, 332; anticipations of, 349.
David and Jonathan, 211.
Deaf persons, 67.
Deaths, rate of, in successive age-periods, 13; in several countries, 334.
Debates, questions for, 90, 91, 213, 214, 271, 350, 399.
"Deborah," 173–175.
Decentralization favorable to change, 327, 328.
Declaration of Independence and equality, 251, 252, 257.
Defective, persons, 59; children, 173–178.
Defectives, segregation of, 78; laws to prevent increase of, 355, 356.
Degeneracy, 181.
Degrees, academic, 323.
Deliberative body, 138; and administration, 247, 248.
Delinquents of school and court the same, 176, 180.

Democracy, Chapter X; a frontier product, 34; government by the lower classes, 143; leadership of the most competent, 144; in schools by competition, 157; modified by need of leisure in rulers, 224; and punishment, 240; broader and narrower meanings of, 244, 250; pure, 245–248; representative, 248–250, 345; in schools, 263–267, 273; not easy, 269; duplicity of, 270; and efficiency, 270, 271, 348; and large-scale organization, 291; and variation, 327; the goal of, 370; no synonym for peace, 400.
Democratic, government in schools, 263–267, 273; movement reduces fecundity, 325; government and telic power, 352; leveling, the inception of a new aristocracy, 390.
Demonstration as a form of communication, 76.
Demotic aggregation, 3–7.
Dependence, of social mind on personnel, 128; mutual, 368, 369.
Desire the mainspring of action, 40, 41, 305.
Development of individual, 66, 67.
Diagnosis of mental status, 176.
Differences in, persons, 55–60; children, 56–60; twenty men, 224.
Different, civilization making men more, 213.
Differential psychology, 58, 83.
Differentiating factors in communication, 89.
Differentiation, greatest, desirable, 213; of species, 304.
Directions, ability to follow, 205, 206.
Directors, board of, of a corporation, 249.
Directory, educational, 213; of social agencies, 213.
Disadvantages of personal liberty, 254.
Discipline, handled through groups, 112–115; caste education has rigid, 157; in school means government, 218; democracy involves change in, 243; power to, limited, 254; anarchists would abolish, 261; and honor, 264, 265; and a heroic conclusion, 296.
Disciplined school, the best, 204.
Discontinuous variation, 304.
Discussion, in a class, 132; forbidden in clubs, 134; a stage in development of opinion, 140; leads to toleration, 142; of aristocracy, monarchy, and democracy, 343.
Diseases peculiar to a climate, 22.
Disintegrating influences of city life, 99.
Disorganization of education, 212.
Distinction of student representative, 229.
Doctor, a word with changed meaning, 323.
Domination, love of, 87.
Drama, educative power of, 79; in school, 90, 91.
Dry atmosphere, effects of, 29.
Drying up of Central Asia, 309.
Duration in social mind, 126–128.

Earth's, past, 284; future, 289; resources controlled, 292; daily rotation makes a cycle of activity, 379.
Economic, interpretation of history, 34; factor and elimination, 156; institutions, government of, 249.
Economics, 1, 43.
Economists, 37.
Educated, the, a social class, 162–165.
Education, and composition of population, 7; and density, 9, 10; task of, 52; capacity for, 54; by solitary reading, 74; congenial association in, 118, 119; Catholic *vs.* secular views of, 134; and social mind, 148; competitive organization complicates, 157; for leisure class only, 158; in East Youngstown, 169; aim of, regarding social classes, 181; decentralized, 328; the best method of social telesis 360–362; complementary to organization, 371; as a factor in progress, 329, 372.
Educational, tests and measurements, 200–202, 213–215; anarchists, 261.
Efficiency, inconsistent with gloom, 41, 42; not respected by democracy, 270, 271.
Egalitarianism, 253.
Egypt, civilization began in, 280; environment and people of, immutable, 311.
Eighth grade, gang spirit, 102; baseball, 106.
Election, by a class, 264.
Elementary schools, clubs in, 194.
Emergency a cause of change, 327.
Emotion, importance of, in sociology, 51.

England, and democracy, 248, 250; and liberty, 256; and anarchy, 260; timber and population in, 292, 307; nothing changes in, 326.
English, constitution, 203; history shows experience in government, 218; people too safe, 325.
Enjoyment the basis of congenial association, 100, 117, 118.
Enlightenment, of individual and the general welfare, 212; destroys the race, 338.
Environment, types of, 26; of the young should be ideal, 53; of immigrants, 168–170.
Eolithic stage of culture, 282.
Episode, the human, Chapter XI; the present in early stage of, 293; climax of, 294; conclusion of, 296.
Equality, of children in school, 158; dreams of, 213; and democracy, 251–253.
Equalizing training increases differences, 59, 60.
Esprit de corps, 141.
Ethical, problem of defining progress, 295; philosophers oppose punishment, 248, 249.
Ethics, and moral sentiments, 135; and the goal of society, 370.
Etiquette, overlays morality, 136; compared with fashion, 139.
Eugenics, Congress, 357; Record Office, 357, 373; references on, 373, 374.
Europe, highest development in, 282; three races in, 337; relapse of, in Dark Ages, 393.
European, schools and teacher's house, 33; nobles and public service, 244.
Events, the logic of, 131.
Evolution, the term avoided, 305; is combination of natural selection and variation, 333; social, Ward's meaning of, 346.
Executive, functions of a teacher, 219, 220; division of government, 219–223; ability, 226.
Expenses of officials, 228–231.
Experience, common, the basis of sympathy, 85.
Experimental Evolution, Carnegie Station for, 357.
Expert opinion, 144.
Extravagance, popular impression favors, 229.
Eye color in race determination, 336.

Factors of society, Part I; application of natural selection to, 333–339.
Factory spirit in a school, 208.
Faculty, character of, meeting changes with size, 98; adviser, 111; relations with students, 143; and administrative work, 246, 247.
Fad, examples of, 139.
Fair chance to every pupil, 157.
Family, instincts, 43, 44; cross-lines of interest, 191.
Farmer and schoolboys, 90.
Fashion a form of social mind, 139.
Fashions in organization, 207.
Fecundity reduced by democracy, 335.
Feeble-mindedness, 171–178; references on, 185, 186.
Feeling, accompaniment, 51; the basis of social mind, 140.
Fifth grade, group of girls, 104; children independent, 116.
Finances examined by specialists, 233.
Fine art, communicates personality, 77; an expression of inner life, 81.
Fire drill as example of government, 218.
Folkways, production of, 141.
Food, social importance of, 25.
Football, player punished for cheating in examination, 136; players herd together, 151; negro, player, 152.
Force and right, 341.
Foreign-born, age distribution of the, 13; teachers, proportion of, 16.
Foreign nationality rising, 320.
Formalism, 206–210.
Formal like-mindedness, 142.
Form preserved, 210.
Fortunes, new, 154.
Forward look, the, 289–293.
Frame of government, 219.
France, and democracy, 248, 250; and liberty, 256; and anarchy, 260; archæological remains in, 285; initiative declining in, 319; low birth rate in, 334.
Fraternities, and sororities, 111, 112, 182; initiation into, 141.
Fraternity furnishes Rhodes scholar, 197.
Free organization opposed, 255.

Freedom, 253–260; and law, 209; and order, 212; in the school, 257–260; of the pioneer, 293.
Free-trade, New England attitude on, 134.
French, Revolution, 210, 388, 390, 392; Canada, birth rate in, 334.
Freshmen, advisers for, 112.
Frontier, significance of the, in America, 308; has habit of change, 319, 329.
Functions of government, 219.
Future, man's, 289–293; interpretation of, 294; lesson of, to teachers, 295.

Games of children subject to natural selection, 341.
Gamins, group of, 114, 115.
Gang, of boys, 101–103, 114, 115, 137; loyalty to the, 95, 102–106; leaders of, 146; excuses for existence, 193; organized into "junior university," 265; needs enemies, 389.
Gary, town of, 358.
General, public opinion, 144; public will, 352, 362, 363.
Generation, period of, 11, 13, 360; each, frames its ideal, 295, at a unique turn, 398; cycle of a, 380–382.
Genetic aggregation, 3–5; age distribution in a, 13.
Genius, not a social but a vital phenomenon, 312.
Geniuses, value of and means of discovering, 181.
Gentleman, not work with his hands, 158.
Geographers, 21, 22, 37.
Geographical, factor in society, 20; determinism, 34.
Geographic environment as a social factor, 22–27.
Geography contributes to sociology, 1, 21.
Geological, time, 284; Survey, 357.
Geology and archæology, 283.
Georgia and importation of slaves, 364.
German idea of a standard, 198.
Germany, and democracy, 250; and the choice of Otto I, 364; transformation of, 389.
Girls, in congenial groups, 103–105, 119; in clubs, 103, 113, 195; play baseball, 106.
Glacial, stages, 283; epochs, 284, 289, 290, 394; period, 394.
Glaciers alternately longer and shorter, 377.
Gloom inconsistent with efficiency, 41, 42.
Goal, of society, 295; natural selection has no, 366; of telic selection, 369–371; of each long cycle, 397.
Governing class, 223–225.
Government, Chapter IX; inherent in institutions, 216; is coercive power, not influence, 217; English experience in, 218; the frame of, 219; by democracy, Chapter X; responsible, 245; representative, 248–250, 345; of a corporation, 249; democratic, in schools, 263–267, 273; variation in, 325–328; and natural selection, 346–349; and social telesis, 366–369.
Græco-Roman civilization, 391.
Grafting by student managers, 231.
Great scale action requires government, 216.
Greece, ancient democracies of, 248; Persian wars gave new organization to, 389.
Greek immigrants, 152, 168.
Gregariousness, 44–46; develops slowly, 51; in animals, 62; and recreations, 71; excessive, 84.
Group, activity, 45; loyalty, 95, 102–106.
Groups, primary, Chapter V; of workmen, officials, students, 97; teachers, 98; congenial, 100; of boys, 101–103; of girls, 103–105; mixed, 105, 106, in school, 106–110; at boarding schools, 110–112; and discipline, 112–115; cannot be constructed, 115, 116; small, and principles of democracy, 243.

Habit, 39; of change or of conservatism, 319.
Hallowe'en party, 145.
Harvard College, organized to train preachers, 324; number of children to each graduate of, 335; rejuvenated, 388.
Hate necessary, 348.
Hazing in colleges, 143, 257.
Head of the table, 225.
Health, interest, 44; social telesis to preserve, 355.
Helen Keller, 67, 72.
Hereditary, capacity and incapacity, 171; classes, 213.
Heredity, 301–304; social, 148, 303; of a caste, 152; and occupation, 153,

154; in the Kallikak family, 175; place for belief in, 178; and variation, Chapter XII.
Heroic, effort, 35; conclusion, 296.
"Highbrows," 162–165.
High cost of living and morality, 368.
High school, with fewer than four teachers, 9, 10; fraternities, 112; public support of, 133.
Hindoo literature, 30.
Historical, time, 278–280; question for debate, 399.
History, useful though untrue, 123; in the curriculum, 148; value of, 287, 288; the world's verdict, 346; shows remote consequences, 363, 364; turns in the same circle, 375; of Central Asia, 393, 394.
Homer communicates to us, 65, 66.
Homesickness at boarding schools, 110, 111.
Homicides, number of, 22.
Honesty, ancients deficient in, 248.
Honor in school government, 264, 265.
Human, factor combines with geographical, 20; episode, the, Chapter XI.
Human nature, Chapter III; chart of, impossible, 37; scientific attitude toward, 38; the roots of moral sentiments, 135; and large-scale organization, 204–206; the basis of democracy, 244; essentially good, 253; subject to variation, 309–313.
Humanity, common, a basis for sympathy, 89.
Hundred people in conversation, 372.

Idea of a standard, 198.
Ideal, society a drama in the imagination, 68; individual, 214; type of human nature, 356; operative through education, 360; each generation has its own, 371; a matter of habit, 372.
Ideals, of an institution, 197; and progress, 295; subject to natural selection, 341; a new set of, 397.
Illinois, school survey of, 238.
Imaginary playmates, 68–70, 90.
Imitation, 39; by children, 80, 85; by the new members, 197.
Immigrant, children's grades in school, 57; characteristics, 61; result of environment, 148.
Immigrants, communities of, 168–171; references on, 184, 185; stages in process of Americanizing, 384–387.
Immigration, the adventure of, 168; bringing fresh race stocks, 338; of defectives, 355; rises and falls, 375.
Impending changes, 291–293.
Impersonal communication, 82.
Impressions the fringe of knowledge, 131.
Impulse to action, 39–42, 192.
Inalienable rights, 257.
Inborn tendencies, 42–52.
Income classifies people, 154, 155.
Incorrigible pupils, segregation of, 78, 79.
India, isolation of, 27; literature of, 30; races in, 337.
Indians, 6.
Individual, psychology, 58; and society, 210–212, 371; specialized or all-around, 214; freedom of thought, 252; differences recognized, 253; accountable for actions, 258; the innovating, as cause of change, 312, 313; and primary association, 316.
Industrial depressions alternate with prosperity, 375.
Industries, influence distribution of population, 8; telic selection *vs.* natural in locating, 357.
Inequality eternal, 252.
Infancy, lengthened period of, 48; and educability, 51–54.
Influences of geographic environment, 22–31.
Inheritance, social, 303.
Inherited, incomes *vs.* earned, 155; capacity, 166.
Inhibition and freedom, 253.
Initiation, ordeal of, 141.
Inner world of ideas, 48.
Innovating individual, 312; depends on primary association, 316.
Insight, superior, in leaders, 226.
Inspection, 231–235; survey a form of, 236.
Instinct, to achieve, 191, 192; to belong, 194.
Instinctive reactions of animals, 54.
Instincts, 42–51.
Institute, teachers', compulsory, 209.
Institutional, team-work, 191; fatigue, 207; sins, 208.
Institutionized organization, 387.

Institutions, defined, 187–189, 191; satisfy wants, 189; are interconnected, 190; and standards, 196–202; must have time to grow, 203, 204; tend toward formalism, 206–210; government in, 216; express higher impulses, 243; political *vs.* economic, 249; private *vs.* public, 254; come from a great past, 287; variation in, 322–324; subject to natural selection, 345, 346; without struggle, decline, 348; and social telesis, 363–366; cycle of changes in, 387–390.
"Intellectuals," 162–165.
Intelligence, capacity for, 47–49; tests of, 58, 59; and freedom, 253.
Intensity, of social mind, 137; of religious beliefs declining, 139.
Inter-communication and class consciousness, 150.
Interest, rate of, discounts future, 289, 290.
Interests, human, the ultimate terms in sociology, 41; as basis of public sentiment, 134, 135; multiplying, decreases intensity, 255; control through, 261; of rich *vs.* poor, 321.
Interlocking of institutions, 190.
International Mercantile Marine, 359.
Interpretation, economic, of history, 34; of backward community by artist, 167.
Intricate development of social mind, 125.
Inventions, social, 312, 313, *vs.* mechanical, 359.
Investments, value of, 290.
Iron and population, 25.
Irresponsible power not to be trusted, 230.
Isolation, caused by barriers, 27; and class consciousness, 150.

Jacksonian notion of democracy, 267.
Japan, dense population in, 307; a new state, 389.
Judge, the teacher as, 219.
Judicial, division of civil government, 219; penalties, 239.
Jungle Book, The, 66.
Justice, and the rules of the game, 202, 203; between classes, 362.
Juvenile crime, 180.

"Kallikak" family, 171–176.
Katabolism, 39; alternates with anabolism, 377.
Keller, Helen, 67, 72.
Key West Railway, building of the, 97.
Kindness, 46, 86.
Kinship, 4, 5.
Knighthood, precepts of, 150.

Laboring class, 158.
Lake-dwellers, 282, 392.
Language, makes gap between man and animals, 65; a social tool, 72, 73; to conceal thought, 86.
Large-scale organization, and human nature, 204–206; growing, 291; possible by rapid communication, 314.
Latent prepossession, 133.
Latin, class revolts, 137; in the curriculum, 365.
Law, and freedom, 209; equality before the, 251.
Lawyers, age distribution of, 16.
Layman's view of specialists, 232, 233.
Leaders, and public opinion, 145; examples of, 146, 147, 193; importance, varieties, and qualities of, 225–228, 240; tried out, 246, 344.
League baseball, 75.
Learned, the, as a social class, 162–165.
Leavenworth, school survey of, 238.
Legal theory of punishment, 239, 240.
Leisure classes, segregation of, 24; *vs.* laboring class, 158.
Let-alone *vs.* liberty policy, 209.
Letters keep alive group interests, 74, 105, 106.
Liberal education, 158.
Liberty, and union, 209, 367; to find his own level, 252; and social tolerance, 270; craved, 367.
Life is action, 39–42.
Like-mindedness, rational or formal, 142.
Limits to, human knowledge, 38, 39; size of a social circle, 160; growth of an institution, 387; progress in any direction, 397.
Literary society, 103, 189, 199.
Literature, a form of communication, 69; groups interested in, 103–105; and the social mind, 148.
Local self-government, 255, 256.
Locality, human factors in the, 31.
Location, Chapter II; sentimental attachment to, 31; human factors in the, 31–34; change in, 307–309; and

natural selection, 338; and telic selection, 357, 358.
Logic of events, 131.
Long distance communication, 73.
"Low" class, the genuine, 171–178.
"Lower classes," 165, 166.

Machinery stops talk in working hours, 73.
Malthusianism, 349.
Man, qualities of, 43–51; application of Mendelian law to, 311; stature of, 328; individualized and socialized, 371.
Manual training, progress of, 188.
Manufacturing and tariff, 134.
Markets are rhythmical, 375.
"Masses," the, 165, 166.
Mastery, instinct of, 49; made basis of good manners, 53.
Material, "wants," 43; equipment inherited, 303.
Materials, influence of natural, 25.
Maturing of instincts, 51–54.
Measurement, of intelligence, 59–63; standards of, in education, 200–202.
Mechanical, phase of life, 208; inventions, patents for, 359.
Mechanism, of communication, 71–80; in self-government, 266.
Mediterranean race, 337.
Medium of communication, 71; selection of, 80–84.
Members, initiation of new, 197.
Membership, in social circle cannot be demanded, 160; in institutions, 189–191, 196–202, 255; candidates for, 198.
Memory, the basis of intelligence, 47; use of, in administration, 221, 222; in the social mind, 319.
Mendelian law, 310–312, 328.
Metabolism, 39; rhythmical process of, 377, 378.
Metals, supply of, 292.
Metaphysical conceptions beyond domain of science, 37, 38.
Methods of surveying schools, 237–239.
Metric system in United States, 302, 303.
Mexican news displaced by European, 341.
Middle class, dwindling of, 321.
Might makes right, 350.
Migration, interstate, 6; effect of, on sex distribution, 13; from Central Asia, 309; to a new environment, 323.
"Mills of the gods," 363.
Milwaukee normal school moved, 187.
Mind, classification of types of, 61; a prisoner in the body, 65.
Mining fosters restlessness, 321.
Misery from mastering and hunting instincts, 230.
Mob, 137–139; cannot last long, 383.
Moderated forms of social mind, 139.
Modern, transportation, results of, on city, 99; communication reduces mob phenomena, 138.
Modifications, transmission of, 309, 310.
Modify human society, 361.
Monarchy, discussion regarding, 243; is a merchantman, 268.
Monasteries, sense of, 197.
Money, boy's interest in, 52, 53, 113, 114.
Moral, education, no inventions in, 77; sentiments, 135–137.
Morality, positive *vs.* negative, 41; sentiments of, 135–137; replacing religious beliefs, 139; emanates from ascendant class, 150; standards of, subject to natural selection, 341; and cost of living, 368.
Mores, 136, 150.
Morgan's stages of culture, 285–287.
Moron, a type of mentality, 175.
Motherly behavior, 46.
Motion pictures, moving pictures, 79, 80; in recreation and education, 314.
Mowgli, 66.
Muck-raking at the schools, 237.
Municipal Research, N. Y. Bureau of, 236, 239.
Music, groups interested in, 103, 109.
Mutation, 304; in institutions, 324; in human thought, 333.
Mutual dependence, 368, 369.

Nationalities, proportion of various, in teaching, 16; recognition of, in school, 182.
Nation's history like life of person, 375.
Natural resources, a factor in society, 25, 26; will be exhausted, 292–294.
Natural selection, Chapter XIII; works on social organization in two ways, 339; nature's way of securing efficiency, 347; *vs.* telic, 353, 366; in locating industries, 357; works quietly but surely, 363.

"Nature people" *vs.* "culture people," 372.
Neanderthal race, 283, 285.
Needs and wants, 189, 191.
Negroes, age distribution of, 13; music of, 30; as example of caste, 151, 152; references on, 183, 184.
Neolithic Age, 281–283.
Nevada, proportion of children in, 13.
New dispensation adapts from old, 397, 398.
New England attitude on tariff, 134.
New Era in education, 56.
New York, Bureau of Municipal Research, 236, 239; school survey in, 236, 237.
News, the subject matter of communication, 131; selected by natural selection, 341.
Newspapers, urban minds feed on, 73, 74; a source of communications, 131; selection of news for, 341.
Nile valley, where civilization began, 280, 282; an unchanging environment, 311.
Ninth grade, gang spirit in, 102.
Nirvana, nature knows no, 348.
Nobility of wealth, 321.
Nobles and public service, 244.
Noblesse oblige, 181.
Non-conformists, and anarchism, 260; less room for, 291.
Non-verbal communication, 76, 77.
Nordic race being displaced, 335, 337.
Normal school, building burned, 187; shifting of social classes in a, 321, 322; students in, who do not expect to teach, 323; tends toward advanced work, 365; president on tendency to run down, 375.
North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 9.
Norwegian lad, 71.
Number of pupils per teacher, 18.

Objection to teaching reforms, 362.
Occupation, strive for excellence in, 181; freedom to choose, 254.
Occupations, and climate, 23; and resources, 25; influence education, 30; hereditary, 153, 154; early training for, 157; recruited by competition, 343.
Occidental etiquette *vs.* Oriental, 136.
Officers elected by assembly, 245.
Offices, held by few, 224; plan for distributing, 225.
Ohio, teachers' institutes in, 209; school survey of, 238, 239; Welsh communities in, 385–387.
"Old Red Brick," reunion of, 164.
Opportunity, and capacity, 166; equality of, 251, 252.
Opposites, look for, 395; the world moves by, 396.
Organic theory of society, 372.
Organism, social, 214.
Organization, requires government, 216; student representatives of an, 228; in a school, 257; complementary to education, 371.
Organizations, Chapter VIII; of students, 143; form of, enduring, 189; in an elementary school, 194–196; in an advanced school, 199, 200; rules between rival, 202; become formal, 206–210; offices in, held by a few, 224; liberty to form private, 254; work in, for experience with democracy, 263.
Oriental, etiquette, 136; civilization, 391.
"Outside" activities of students, 40, 258.

Palæolithic Age, 281–283.
Panama, climate of, 29, 30.
Parade for new school buildings, 132.
Parliamentary procedure, 138.
Participation as a form of communication, 76.
Past, present, and future, 277.
Patents not granted for inventions in social organization, 359.
Peace the sway of a single government, 347.
Penalty limited in private organizations, 254.
Pennsylvania and tariff, 134.
Perfection, never any more, 397.
Person, each, distinct, 210, 211; adjustment to the needs of each, 251; government takes character from one, 325.
Personal, communication, 82–84; antitheses, 211; antagonism of student to school, 212; liberty, 254; and social interests identified, 371.
Personality, 77–79; creative influence of, 313.
Personnel, social mind depends on, 128; constantly changing, 322, 325.

Philippines, climate of, 29.
Philosophical anarchist, 261.
Phonograph, 314.
Physical, world, 20; causes fix nature of civilization, 25; features determine routes, 26, 27; bases of society, 34.
Physiologists, 37; their view of life, 39.
Physiology, 1, 58; freedom in terms of, 253.
Pictures as form of communication, 76.
Pioneer, still room for the, 293.
Plants grow better with change of temperature, 379.
Play, theories of, 41.
Playground, social mind exhibited on, 127; supervision of, as example of government, 219.
Plebiscite, 248.
Pleistocene period, 283.
Political, organization improved, 218; institutions, government of, 249.
Politicians in a democracy, 250.
Politics, knowledge of, with helplessness, 365.
Poor, the, segregation of, 168; not a class, 173; references on, 184; and rich in two camps, 321.
Populace irresponsible, 321.
Popular assembly should not administer, 248.
Popular impression, 130, 131, 140; regarding manual training, 188; runs to extravagance, 229; reflects all experiences, 318; merges into other states of mind, 383.
Popular sentiment, 133–135, 140.
Popular sovereignty, 250.
Population, Chapter I; density of, 7–10; depends on resources, 25; requirements in, for democracy, 249; increasing, 291; change in, 306, 307; statistics of, show change in social classes, 320; natural selection applied to, 333; gathered by individual telesis, 354; social telesis to increase, 355; to improve quality, 355–357; character of, and costs, 368.
Portland, Ore., school survey of, 238.
Postglacial period, 283–285.
Poverty no stigma, 156.
Present, past, and future, 277.
Pressure of group opinion, 96, 97.
Prestige, leader must have, 227.
Pre-verbal communication, 77.
Prices falling or rising, 320, 321.
Primary grade, honor system in, 266.
Primary groups, Chapter V; defined, 96; size of, 97–99; suitable thesis subject, 119; characteristic quality of, 207; government of, 245, 249; the nursery of innovations, 315–317; some telesis in, 360.
Primitive, ideas of punishment, 239; war brings society back to the, 390.
Principal, finds high school in uproar, 139; plays with boys against wish of board, 146; combines supervision and inspection, 233.
Principle, of natural selection, 332, 333; to define relations between classes, 362.
Printed page takes place of pulpit, 100.
Printing, 73.
Private institutions, 254–256.
Privileged class, 162.
Process, the social, 2.
"Programs" of the half-educated, 366.
Progress, social, Part III; from interaction of personality and institutions, 208; owed to authorities, 218; *vs.* change, 277; and ideals, 295; and the future, 299, 300; the law of society, 301; heredity basal in, 302; caused by great men, 329; not automatic, 353; to be earned, 354; toward separateness and union, 368; education and government as factors in, 372; after a democratic leveling, 390; the conception of, 396; by cycles, 396–398.
"Prom," dissension over, 145.
Promoter still in evidence, 294.
Propaganda goes through a cycle of change, 383.
Protestant families smaller than Catholic, 335.
Proverbs, English, 4, 42; French, 388; German, 25, 45; Latin, 45; Spanish, 348.
Prussia and freedom, 256.
Psychological tests, 58–60.
Psychologists, pioneers in study of human nature, 37; their view of life, 39; in the army, 60; have shown importance of feeling, 140; clinical, 176.
Psychology, 1; and the emotions, 51; variational, 58; freedom in terms of, 253.

Puberty, age of, 51.
Public opinion, 131–133; in school, 132; exists only in settled society, 140; produced by discussion, 142; general *vs.* special, 144; uninformed, 146; on manual training, 188; becomes public will through government, 217; stated by one person, 225; democracy the organized sway of, 243; influence of most capable members in shaping, 246; needs time to become organized, 249, 250.
Public power, extension of, 209.
Public schools keep social classes open, 362.
Pugnacity, 55.
Pullman, town of, 358.
Pulpit replaced by printed page, 100.
Pulsations of climate, 393, 394; evidence for, 401.
Punishment, case of, throws school into disorder, 128; of a cripple, 137; theory of, 239–241; limited, in private organizations, 254; and duty, 258; the only effective, 263, 264.
Pupils per teacher, number of, 18.

Qualities, of leaders, 145; of a teacher subject to natural selection, 342.
Quaternary period, 283, 284.
Quebec, large families in, 334.

Race, prejudice, 5; differences, 61, 152; recognition of, in schools, 182; references on, 183, 184; war brought on by mixing of bloods, 321; elements reproduce in different proportions, 310, 335; suicide, 338.
Railroads under state control or regulation, 359.
Rainfall, cycles of, 380, 382, 392.
Rapid communication, 73.
Rational, like-mindedness, 142; the "rational" is a subterfuge, 342; selection only on natural objects, 359; selection through education, 361, but difficult, 366.
Reading habit, 73; in solitude gives education, 74.
Reciprocal valuation, 193.
Recitation, 83; methods of, subject to natural selection, 342.
Recognition of personal valuation, 46.
"Record," the world's, 398.
Records, increased bulk of, 222.
Recreations must be social, 71.
Referendum, 248.
Reform, alternates with reaction, 381; course of a, 383.
Reformer marks a change already accomplished, 322.
Reforms propagated through public schools, 361.
Rejuvenation of an institution, 388.
Relaxation is return to primitive behavior, 380.
Religion, overlays morality, 136; established, 255.
Religious belief an enduring form of social mind, 139.
Representative government, 248–250; spread of, 345.
Republic is a raft, 268.
Repulsion, results from communication, 88; removable by more communication, 89.
Resources, natural, 25, 26; influence on education, 30; exhaustion of, 292; time of decline in, 293; appropriation of, 294.
Responsibility, of membership, 193, 199, 200; sobering influence of, 263; for political power, 268.
Revolutions, are ambiguous things, 209; averted by reforms, 301; as social mutations, 324; and the rejuvenation of states, 388, 389.
Rhodes scholar furnished by a fraternity, 197.
Rhythm, the get-together agent, 141; law of, 375; in nature, 376–382.
Rich, and poor in two camps, 321; have life of action, 40; *vs.* educated as privileged class, 162; the idle, 165; separated by natural selection, 343.
Rights, inalienable, 257.
Rome, democracy in ancient, 248; declining population in, 307, 328.
Romulus, myth of, 66.
Rotation in office, 325.
Routes depend on physical features, 26.
Rulers need superiority, 224.
Rules of the game, 202.
Ruling class, 224; behavior of, when declining, 320; blind to own faults, 345; warnings to, 363; capacity of, 367.

Rural, school problem, 10; communities compared with urban, 18, 35; schoolhouses, 33, 34; regions loyal, devout, conservative, 321.
"Rushing" of candidates, 198.
Russia, and democracy, 250; and anarchy, 260; wrecked from within, 348; rejuvenated, 388.
Russian, peasantry, 142; imbroglio, 268.

Safety movement, 354, 355.
Sandy soil, uses of, 31.
Savagery as a stage of culture, 286.
Scales in school subjects, 215.
School, calendar, 27; architecture, 31–35; building burned, 32, 187, 327; grounds, 33, 34; takes on functions of family, 99; congenial groups in, 106–110; in disorder by incident at recess, 127; spirit, 141; exhibition, 141; attendance and economic condition, 156; and vocation, 157; reunion of students and teachers, 164; clubs, 194–196; standards, 200–202, 204; pupil leaving, 212; survey, 235–239; system should be abolished, 237; freedom in, 257–260.
Schoolroom exhibits forms of social mind, 126–133.
Science of society crude, 360.
Scientific, study, 1; attitude, 38; methods in study of human nature, 60; method applied only on natural objects, 359; study of society beset with difficulties, 360.
Seat of honor, 225.
Secondary, schools, North Central Association of, 9; relations in place of primary, 99.
Secret thought clothed in language, 65.
Secular, views of education, 134; cycles in nature, 392–395, and adjustment with reference to, 396.
Segregation of, leisure classes, 24; defective or incorrigible pupils, 78, 79; the poor and criminal in cities, 168, 180.
Self-effectuation, powers essential to, 257.
Self-government, by women students in university, 112; accorded to institutions, 255; and vandalism, 259, 260; reveals fallacy of anarchism, 261; system in a school, 263–267, 372.
Selfish, leader must not be, 227.
Self-possession, leader must have, 226.
Self-reliance *vs.* mutual help, 368, 369.
Self-respect preserved under inspection, 235.
Sensitive, persons are solitary, 70; pupils, 83.
Sentimental attachment to a locality, 31.
Sentimentalists oppose punishment, 348, 349.
Sentiments, moral, 135–137.
Seventh grade group, of boys, 102; of girls, 103.
Sewing circle, girls in, 146.
Sexes, proportions of the, in population, 10, 11; Oriental ideas of, 136.
Sex instinct, 44, 52.
Sexual selection, 349.
Shop supervisors stop talk in working hours, 73.
Signals, in schoolroom, in baseball, 76.
Silent communication through literature, 69.
Sins of institutions, 208.
Sixth grade, congenial group and mathematics, 108; backward boy in, 115; self-government system of, 266.
Size of, state influenced by physical features, 26; primary group, 97, 98.
Skill and social class, 165.
Slavery, interest opposed emancipation, 134; a useful institution, 181; disappeared, 254; for debt, 256.
Social activities are periodic, 375.
Social classes, Chapter VII; variation in, 320–322; subject to natural selection, 343; and general public will, 362, 363.
Social control, 148.
Social engineer makes use of rhythm, 379.
Social evolution, Ward's meaning of, 346; methods of, 361.
Social habits evolved, 124.
Social heredity, 148.
Social hygiene, goal of, 370, 371.
Social ideals, origin of, 317.
Social income, change in distribution of, 320, 321.
Social instincts, 50, 51, 55.
Socialism, *vs.* anarchism, 262, 263; supposed example of, 271; vision of, 367; the gravest danger, 392.
Socialist's idea of progress, 372.
Socialization, 85, 370, 371.
Social mind, Chapter VI; a figurative

term, 122; causes and development of, 124–126; varieties of, 126–137; moderated forms of, 139; based on feeling, 140; becoming more tolerant, 142; of a class, 150; in a school, 204; and variation, 317–319; subject to natural selection, 340–342; and education, 359–362; of a class, 362, 363; cycle in, 382–384.
Social organization, Part II; a neglected chapter in, 95; changed in a modern city, 99; subject to natural selection, 339–349.
Social process, 2
Social progress, Part III; *see* Progress.
Social psychology, 50.
Social sciences emphasized in higher education, 361.
Social standing of teacher in community, 158.
Social statics *vs.* dynamics, 275.
Social technology, purpose of, 371.
Society, factors of, Part I; a, 1, 2; a verbal noun, 66; reduced to its lowest terms, 93; makes up its mind, 131; stability and unity of, 190; and the individual, 210–212; study of, crude, 360.
Sociological conception of punishment, 240.
Sociologists, 37.
Sociology, defined, 1; and the individual, 38; and tendencies in human nature, 60; the most substantial portion of, 93; the study of group relations, 210.
Soil, sandy, 31; of South exhausted, 308.
Solidarity, racial, 214.
Solitary, persons, talk to animals, 67, sensitive, 70; occupations, 70.
Solitude shows importance of communication, 66, 67.
Song, college or school, 141.
Sororities, 111, 112, 197.
South, soil of, exhausted, 308.
Southern *vs.* northern nations, 26.
Southwest, changes of climate in the, 394.
Spanish-American War, change since, 278.
Speaker, public, allows time for relaxation, 379.
Specialist, supervising or inspecting a, 232–234.
Specialization, correlative of organization, 189–193.
Special public opinion, 144.
Spirit of a school, 204; and self-government, 265.
Sports an outlet for energy, 40, 41.
Springfield, Ill., social survey of, 238.
Stagnation, caused by isolation, 27.
Standardization of thought, 148.
Standards, and group opinion, 96; important in education, 158; of a class, 150; of institutions, 196–202; in expenditures, 229; of morality subject to natural selection, 341.
Standard tests, 200–202, 213–215.
Standing, of teachers in community, 159, 182; of students influenced by alphabetical order of names, 209.
State, government of, studied, 218; activity extended, 367.
States of mind, places as, 125.
Statesmanship discerns the trend, 364.
Steamship lines and unified management, 359.
Stenographers, age distribution of, 16.
Statico-dynamic processes, 305, 308.
Stimuli, provided for development, 52; and freedom, 253; as causes of change, 305, 306; individuals as, 312.
Stimulus and response, 39, 40.
Stone Age, 281.
Strikes, 169, 170.
Struggle, a part of natural selection, 333; between forms of communication, 339; hope to end, 347; persistence of, 348, 349; not aim to suppress, 367.
Students, play pranks, 40, 257, 258; condemn vandalism, 259, 260.
Stupidity, virtues of, 213.
Subjective world *vs.* objective, 48.
Subject-matter, teachable only when organized, 361.
Sublimate primitive instincts, 52.
Submission, attitude of, 50.
Subscribe to school paper, 132.
Substance altered, form preserved, 210.
Suggestibility, 39.
Suggestion, and assimilation, 85; transmits feeling, 140; on the new members of an institution, 197.
Summons to combat, 348.
Superficial, or fundamental social mind, 129; inspection, 235; forms soonest changed, 319.
Superintendent, meets uproar good-na-

turedly, 139; combines inspection and supervision, 233.
Superiority needed in rulers, 224.
Supernatural origin ascribed to moral sentiments, 135.
Supervised study, 83, 84.
Supervision, *vs.* prearrangement, 221; and inspection, 231–235.
Survey, school, a form of inspection, 235–239.
Survival, 333; depends on force, 344.
Symbols, in communication, 72; must be learned, 80, 81.
Sympathetic, relations between teacher and community, 167; reform, 177.
Sympathy, 46, 85; restrains evil conduct, 95.

Talent undeveloped, 166.
Teacher, house of the, 33; in children's group, 115, 116; cross, 127; mobbed, 137; shapes the future, 295.
Teachers, age distribution of, 16, 17; number in one building, 98; wages of, 134; as a class, 158–162, 182; need knowledge of feeble-mindedness, 173, 178; the search for capable, 199; common faults of, 161, 205, 206; drive who cannot lead, 227; subject to natural selection, 344.
Teaching, the, population, 15–17; in the Tropics, 29; advantages and disadvantages of, 161.
Team work, 191–193, 316, 317, 367.
Technique, emphasized, 208.
Telegraphs, make large organization possible, 314; and the state, 359.
Telephone, communication by, 74, 75; regulation of, 359.
Telesis, social *vs.* individual, 352, 354; social, crude, 360; works through education, 360–362; and government, 367; and public will, 371, 372.
Telic, progress, 352; derivation of the word, 369.
Telic selection, Chapter XIV; *vs.* natural, 353, 366; in locating industries, 357; to regulate systems of communication, 359; limited by capacity of rulers, 367.
Temperaments, the four, 57.
Temperate Zone *vs.* the Tropics, 24.
Temperature, changes of, beneficial, 378.
Temporary social mind, 126–128.
Ten Commandments, 135.
Tennis as example of personal antitheses, 211.
Tenure of position, 162.
Terminology, biological, 301; common, in the sciences, 303.
Tests of intelligence, 58, 59.
Teutonic element in population disappearing, 335.
"Thanksgiving Feast, The," 288.
Theater, as educational agency, 79.
Theory of punishment, 239–241.
Thesis subject, primary groups as a, 119.
Tigris-Euphrates valley, 282, 391.
Time, for institutions to grow, 203; archæological, 280–283; geological, 285; astronomical, 285; unity of, 294.
Titanic, musicians who went down in, 296.
Toleration learned through association, 124.
Too many organizations, 250.
Topeka, school survey of, 238.
Town, as center of progress, 9, 321; selection of, for milk condensery, 346.
Toys, newest, only, valued, 384.
Trade of Europe, 26.
Tradition, in schools, 141; and formal like-mindedness, 142; like heredity, 301–303; power of, 364.
Training increases differences, 59, 60.
Transmutations, 305, 323, 324.
Travel by student representatives, 228.
Traveling salesman, congenial association of, 117.
Treasurer makes report, 233.
Tree-dwellers, 282, 288.
Triangular debating league, 326.
Tropics, *vs.* Temperate Zone, 24; contributions of the, to literature, 30; educational problem of, 30.
Truant, officer, 176, 177; also a delinquent, 180.
Trust, the first, 314.
Truth in art and teaching, 167.
Twin Falls, 10.
Types, of children, 58–60; of character in organizations, 197; of social mind, 317; what, does the struggle favor, 367.

Unanswerable questions, v, 133.
Uniformities, of societies, 1; discoverable by science, 38.
Union and liberty, 209.

Unique privilege of each generation, 398, 399.
United States, and liberty, 256; decentralization in, 328.
Unit qualities or characters, 310, 311.
University, in metropolitan city, 9; Professors, Association of, 162; and normal schools, 322.
Unlimited power cannot be given, 231.
Uproar in schoolroom, 139.
Urban life *vs.* rural, 18, 35.
Utah, 8.
Utilitarian reasons are second thoughts, 193.

Vocations adapted to climate, 27, 28.
Valuation, recognition of personal, 46.
Vandalism, example of, 259.
Variation, Chapter XII; in human nature, 55–60, 309–313; meaning of, 304–306; and natural selection constitute evolution, 333.
Varieties of social mind, 126–137.
Verbal communication, 72–76.
Vineland Training School, 173, 176.
Virtues of stupidity, 213.
Vocation, early preparation for, 157; crime as a, 179; classes based on, 181.
Voluntary coöperation, 256.

Wages of teachers, 134.
Wake County, N. C., 33, 34.
Wants, material, 43; and institutions, 189–191.
War, hope to see, abolished, 347, 372; never settles anything, 363; and peace alternate, 375, 381, 399; and materialistic reaction, 384; psychology of, 389, 390.
Washington Irving High School, 32, 33.
Washington, teachers' cottages in, 33.
Waste of strife, 346, 347.
Water wheel project floods garden, 308.
Weakness in democracy, 267.
Wealth, basis of classes, 154–156; nobility of, 321.
Weather, influence of, 23; conduct and the, 29; rhythm of change in, 380.
Weekly cycle of activity, 379.
Well-to-do, the, an open class, 155.
Welsh immigrants, stages in Americanization of, 385–387.
Western, people failing to conserve ideals, 370; civilization, end of, 392.
Western Union Telegraph the first trust 314.
Westinghouse strike, 169.
West Point cadet, 198.
Will, public, 217; the general, 352.
Winona normal school, 188.
Winter, influence of, 23.
Wisconsin, proportion of children in, 13, 14; small schools in, 14, 15, 256; continuation schools of, 133; school surveys in, 236.
Wisdom of institutions, 209.
Words, experiences attached to, 72.
Work, interests, 44; with hands, 158; acquires dignity, 192.
World of ideas *vs.* of things, 48.
"World's history is the world's verdict," 346.
Writing, social significance of, 69–74.
Written constitutions, 220.

Yell, of school or college, 141.
Youngstown strike, 169, 170.
Youth, and liberty to choose a career, 254.

Printed in the United States of America.

University of British Columbia Library

DATE DUE

AUG - 8 1963

AUG 9 - REC'D

NOV 16 1965

JAN 19 1966

JAN 21 1965

JAN 18 REC'D

FEB 18 1966

JAN 5

JAN 14 1966

NOV 24 1966

MAR 21 1967

DEC 1970 REC'D

OCT 19 1967

NOV 18 REC'D

OCT 11 REC'D

APR 16 REC'D

DEC - 6 1970

DEC 4 REC'D

APR 16 1971.

FORM No. 310

310552

UNIVERSITY OF B.C. LIBRARY
3 9424 02000 9574